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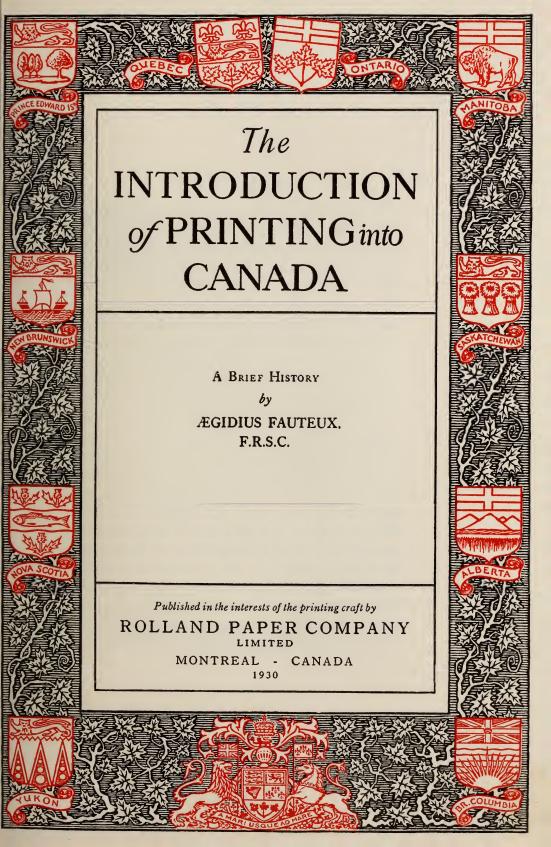


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THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO CANADA





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T is desired that this edition of *The Introduction of Printing into Canada* should be preceded by a brief introduction. In this connection the

author feels that he may fittingly offer a few explanatory notes regarding the genesis of his humble work. In common justice he wishes first of all to state that the idea of this book did not originate with him; the credit is wholly due to a happy inspiration of the management of one of our greatest industrial undertakings, the Rolland Paper Company Limited. The Company's work is bound up in bonds of mutual interest with that of the printing art, which, on the one hand, is practically the reason of its own existence and to which, on the other hand, it supplies its most essential material nourishment. Thoroughly appreciating that the growth of the printing art involves the increase of its own industry, the management believed that it would be of direct value to the thousands of artisans employed in this trade in our country if they might know more about the past history of their own illustrious craft. Our Canadian

printers have but to read that history, to imbibe thoroughly its lessons, in order to derive from it, together with a growing pride in their trade, a renewal of vigour and zeal which should carry them on to destinies of increasing honour.

As to the work itself, what should now be said? The point is a delicate one, for no matter what may be his own wishes in the matter, an author must never praise his own work. It is permissible for him in this case, however, to state that it was a matter of the most complete surprise when it was suggested to him pointblank that he should undertake to write an historical study of the beginnings of Canadian printing. Being already fully occupied with other work, he might well have declined the overwhelming and most unexpected honour thus offered to him; but captivated by the nobility of a plan wherein admirable practicality was united with so large a measure of public spirit, and at the same time tempted by the great interest of the subject to be discussed, he did not yield to his first impulse, and in the end he accepted the proposal. He embarked upon the task conscientiously and after long months devoted to ransacking archives and to digging amongst the files of old newspapers, he has at last brought his work somehow to a conclusion.

Are the results really worth the energy expended, and above all, are they commensurate with the grandeur of the goal to be attained? These are matters for the judgment of others.

So far as the writer himself is concerned, he feels that he has already been amply rewarded for his efforts by some treasured marks of approval with which he has been honoured. This work was originally written in sections, which have been published consecutively at more or less regular intervals during the last twelve months, and we are thus in a position to state that it has been in general favourably received in the world of printing for which it was destined. The decision to issue it now in a new edition has been taken in response to the wishes of a large number of people, who have pointed out that, when bound up in the form of a single book, it would run less risk of being scattered, would be much more easy to use for reference, and consequently its usefulness would be greatly enhanced.

Is it necessary to state that the author has not attempted to write a complete history, and still less a final one, of the beginnings of Canadian printing? Within the narrow limits assigned to him, he could do no more than sketch rapidly the outlines of a picture. Moreover,

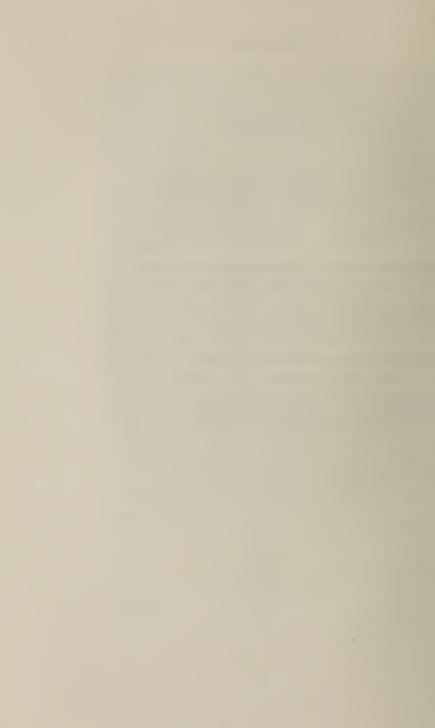
the subject is one which, up to the present, has merely been lightly touched upon by an occasional amateur in the course of bibliographical research, and no one has attempted to explore it methodically and in all its details. It has been possible, by means of items patiently collected here and there and laboriously connected up, to reconstitute at least in its main outlines a period which has heretofore been little known.

Now that the mists have been more or less successfully dispelled which for so long shrouded in obscurity the heroic though modest work of the pioneers of Canadian printing, we should be able better to appreciate how greatly it deserves our admiration and our respect. We feel that this lesson of the past should be a help to all those who are engaged to-day in carrying on the same work, and a source of renewed enthusiasm towards greater efforts in the future. Such at least is the end we have had in mind, and if we have accomplished it, even in limited measure, we feel that our work will not have been wasted.

THE AUTHOR.

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CHAPTER ONE

"But words are things, and a small drop of ink, Falling like dew upon a thought, produces That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think."

Byron: Don Juan, Canto III.



CHAPTER ONE

The First Printers on the Continent of North America



RINTING, that process which enables us to reproduce thought-symbols in unlimited quantities and gives us at the same time the power of making these symbols immortal, is beyond doubt one of

the most beneficial and most marvellous inventions of modern times. It comes to us as the third and final stage in mankind's long struggle to achieve the more perfect and wide-spread expressions of thought, having superimposed itself upon hand-writing in the same manner as hand-writing, many centuries before, had superimposed itself upon speech.

Some people will go so far as to claim that the discovery of this method of reproducing thought-symbols was fraught with more momentous results than any other discovery, even that of the New World. As inhabitants of the New World, it is not an easy thing for us to accept such a claim at its face value, for our viewpoint is necessarily a prejudiced one. But if it were possible for us to assume a strictly unbiased viewpoint, we might possibly admit some truth in such a claim. Our difficulty is that we cannot refrain from asking ourselves what our position would be if America still awaited its discoverer; and this question, ever present in the back of our minds, effectively prevents us from admitting that Johann Gutenberg may have made a greater contribution to civilization than that of Christopher Columbus. Nevertheless, as sharers in the legacy which Johann Gutenberg bequeathed to the world at large, we do not claim that this contribution is of smaller value. For here, as elsewhere, the printed word has become an integral factor in our civilization. It influences every single phase of our lives, and because it is in America that printing perhaps exerts its most powerful sway, we cannot conceive of a time when it did not exist.

From coast to coast of this huge continent stretch myriads of giant presses. Day and night alike the air vibrates to their subdued rumbling, as they pour forth their evergrowing flood of printed matter to calm or arouse the minds and emotions of the one hundred and twenty millions of people living in America. This is reason enough for our being more interested perhaps than any other nation in studying this stupendous social agency which, still hardly a step away from its swaddling clothes, is already well-nigh irresistible and never ceases in its work of moulding the

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opinions and habits of our race. What was responsible for the introduction into America of this shaper of men's souls and hearts? Where was it first unleashed? Who were the artisans to first set it in motion? These are the questions which we propose to ourselves and which the following pages briefly and, we hope, clearly answer.

If it is indeed true that the utility of history consists in the fact that it casts the clarifying light of the past upon the future, nothing can be more useful to us in estimating the almost infinite possibilities which printing, that preponderant factor in modern life, still offers, than this rapid survey of its beginnings in America; for by such a survey we shall have brought home to us the striking contrast existing between the gigantic conflagration with which printing illumines the present day, and the flickering spark which was its almost miraculous origin less than three centuries ago.

Around the year 1436, when Johann Gutenberg was making his first groping efforts to lay the foundations of the typographic art which later was to revolutionize the world, the hardy Basque fishermen were the only people who dared from time to time to brave the sea that lay between Europe and unknown America; and even if they had known of the wonderful invention of this citizen of Mayence, they would never have dreamed of taking a printing press with them in their fragile craft; Christopher

Columbus himself, who came almost half a century later, had sufficient worries of another kind to occupy him. When all is said and done, printing is only a product or corollary of European civilization; and of necessity it was forced to wait until its parent civilization was firmly rooted in the soil of the New World, before it could launch forth from the sheltered environments of the Old World and venture to cross the Atlantic. Printing was indeed on the point of celebrating the first centenary of a vigorous existence in the Old World, about the middle of the sixteenth century, before it was afforded its somewhat belated opportunity of taking this step. Mexico City, the ancient stronghold of the Aztecs, had the honour of producing the first printed matter in the New World, and the glory of making this noteworthy contribution to civilization fell to Spain, that same Spain which some persist to-day in regarding as a backward nation, and which, notwithstanding, led all nations for long centuries in enterprise and achievement.

The actual date when the first printed matter was produced in Mexico was unknown for a long time, and even after many years of painstaking research, scholars have been able to determine upon an approximate date only. Isaiah Thomas, whose History of Printing in America was published at Worcester in 1810, had heard a rumour that a book had been published in the capital of New Spain as early as 1604, but he was never able to learn its title.

If he could revisit the earth to-day, how astonished he would be to learn that the History of New Spain by Arigo Martinez, which he placed first in point of time in his list of books printed in Mexico, was in reality the one hundred and tenth and perhaps the one hundred and fifteenth! In 1837, Ternaux, in his Bibliothèque Américaine, advanced Thomas' date about thirty-five years and gave the honour of being first to the Vocabulario of Molina, published in 1571; but even this advance fell far short of the truth. In reality, the first book, as far as we now are able to tell, was printed in Mexico in 1540. Unfortunately, nothing remains today of this venerable fore-runner of the American book but the last two leaves, and it is a near miracle that these should have outlived the vicissitudes of the centuries. Henry Harrisse, in his Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, brings this home to us very vividly. These few leaves were discovered in the Provincial Library at Toledo, Spain, bound in the same volume with another work. Almost immediately after their discovery they disappeared mysteriously, to be re-discovered in a bookseller's shopin London, about 1870, by the Spanish collector, Pasqual de Gayangos. This work, which is to-day known under the name of Manual de Adultos, was written by Christopher Cabrera of Burgos, who was at the time of writing Notary Apostolic to Mexico. It is written in verse and printed in gothic characters, and evidences go to show that it

originally consisted of thirty-eight leaves, which would make it seventy-six pages in the little folio format characteristic of Spanish printeries of that time. There is not even any certainty that the Manual of Cabrera will not one day be deposed from its position of honour, as has been the fate of so many other works before it. Some scholars contend that there was another work published in Mexico as early as 1536. This is said to have been the Escala Spiritual, a religious treatise by Saint John Climacus, translated from the original Greek into Spanish by Fray Juan de Estrada. No copy of it is known to exist, and no one can boast of having ever seen it, but it had been mentioned in 1625 by Augustin Davila Padilla with sufficiently specific indications to allow us to presume that it was in fact produced in Mexico.

But if some fortunate bibliophile ever succeeds in finding a copy of the Escala Spiritual of 1536, he will very probably have pushed back the date of the production of printed matter in Mexico to its extreme limit. For it appears certain that the first press was brought to Mexico by Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain, about fifteen years after the downfall of Montezuma at the hands of Ferdinand Cortez. Mendoza, not having arrived in Mexico until the middle of 1535, it hardly seems possible to deprive the Escala, published in 1536, of its title of priority. Even though some primers or spelling books or detached pages

had been printed before it, we are none the less right in speaking of the Escala as the first book printed in the New World. Also, no one can definitely say who was the printer of this first book, but if a complete copy of it is ever found, we would discover most likely that it carries the imprint borne by the Manual de Adultos, published in 1540; that of Juan Cromberger. This Cromberger was a printer of Seville in Spain, and it is known that he never left Europe. He simply established a branch of his Sevillan printing-house in Mexico and confided its direction to Juan Pablos, originally of Brescia, who would have printed the Escala and the Manual of Cabrera. It is, therefore, Juan Pablos, and not Juan Cromberger, whom the printers of America should hail as their most remote kinsman in America.

As regards later printing in Mexico, it is sufficient to say that approximately one hundred works were printed there between 1536 and the end of the sixteenth century. The following centuries witnessed fluctuations in the volume of printed matter produced in Mexico, but from 1536 on until the present, the production of printed matter has never ceased in that land. With this briefest of summaries, we may now very well pass on to regions nearer home.

Exactly one century intervenes between the introduction of printing into Mexico and into English America. This fact does not necessarily

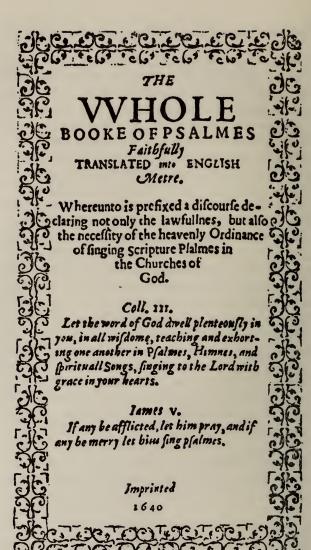
mean that the English-speaking peoples were slower than the Spanish in taking advantage of this supremely useful method of communication willed to humanity at large by Johann Gutenberg. It was scarcely thirty years after the establishment of Jamestown, and less than twenty years after the Puritans landed from the Mayflower on the coast of Massachusetts, that an obscure printer set in motion on American soil the crude press which he had brought with him from England. His simple action had repercussions almost unpar-

alleled in history.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, has the honour of having sheltered the first printing-shop in North America, just as it afterwards had the honour of establishing the first university in all that part of the continent extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic. Until 1879, no one ever dreamed of contesting its right to being termed the cradle of typographic art in America. But in that year someone raised a claim on behalf of Maryland, and for a time citizens of the two states took part in a dispute every bit as acrimonious as that waged by the seven cities of old in connection with the birthplace of Homer. Happily, the apprehension felt by the citizens of Massachusetts was of short duration.

It was Thomas Scharf, a Catholic writer, who first launched this canard, most naïvely and most straightforwardly, in a *History of Maryland*. He said there was evidence that a

Jesuit, Andrew White, who had arrived in Maryland in 1633 in the entourage of Lord Baltimore, had soon afterwards published there a catechism designed for the instruction of the Indians of that region. For a long time, this catechism could not be found, and then suddenly another Jesuit, Father P. McSherry, appeared and claimed to have discovered a copy in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Thomas Scharf had explained the subsequent silence of the press in Maryland by stating that the original press had been confiscated along with other possessions of the Jesuits in the persecutions of a later day. This reputed discovery rejoiced the hearts of Maryland's citizens and brought a corresponding depression to the inhabitants of Massachusetts. It was reserved for another Jesuit to put an end to the controversy. Father Dewitt, of Georgetown University, realizing that his Order was rich enough in glory and had no need to hide facts which did not redound to its credit, did not hesitate to declare that Scharf's claim was entirely without foundation; that in this case, as in so many others, the wish had simply been father to the thought. It was true that Father McSherry had discovered in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome a catechism written by a Father Andrew White, but, he added, some one had forgotten one thing in announcing the discovery, and that was, that the catechism was in manuscript and not printed. This revelation restored to



The first edition of the Bay Psalm Book printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Cambridge its right to be called the cradle of

typographic art in English America.

Although it does not appear on any of the publications issued from his press, the name of the first printer to open a printing establishment in North America has been saved for us. He was Stephen Daye. Daye came to America with the Rev. Jesse Glover, a nonconformist clergyman, who hoped to find on the shores of Massachusetts the religious freedom denied him in England, and who, desiring to feed the souls of his flock with pious publications, engaged Daye in England and furnished him with the necessary equipment. The death of Glover on the voyage did not prevent Daye from following out this project, and 1639 found him opening his own modest printing shop in Cambridge. He was far from being a master of his art, and his few works reflect but poor credit upon his ability. There is no reason for astonishment, therefore, to learn that the leading spirits in Cambridge were engaged some years later in seeking a more qualified printer to replace him. Beginning in 1649, Daye passed from the position of master printer, operating his own establishment, to that of simple craftsman in the employ of Samuel Green, his successor. Neither this fact, nor the faulty nature of his work, take away from Daye the credit of being the pioneer printer in our part of the world, and he will ever be remembered with honour on this account.

Stephen Daye produced very little during his

short career as master printer. There were many reasons for this. Authors were few and far between, and those of his fellow townsmen, who felt the need of expressing themselves in print, preferred to patronize the far distant but more skilful typographers of London. Some proclamations, an occasional religious tract, weighty in form but light in content, and little annual almanacs; beyond these there was little in Cambridge to feed a press at that time, and Daye had nothing else to keep his press moving. In 1639 he printed a few small items which have since been lost, but in 1640 he turned out the first book, worthy at all of the name, to

appear from his printery.

This first-born of American books, printed in English, is to-day universally known as the Bay Psalm Book. Despite its poor appearance and miserable typography, it is a treasure par excellence for the libraries of private collectors. Seventeen hundred copies were distributed by sale or otherwise by the publishers, but not long after their appearance these nearly all had disappeared, literally frayed away by the calloused fingers of the austere Puritans and the feverish ones of their fervent spouses. Ten copies are known to be in existence to-day. One of these is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the others with two exceptions are permanently located in public collections on this side of the Atlantic. Eight copies, therefore, will never pass again under the hammer of the auctioneer, a fact which drives the army

of private collectors of Americana almost to despair; for, one and all, their highest ambition is to lay their hands some day upon this rara avis of the book-loving world, and day by day the possibility of ever realizing their dream becomes less and less. The time is past when the happy adventure which befell Henry Stevens about 1857, can happen again to a bibliophile.

Stevens himself tells the story with delightful humour in his Recollections of Mr. James Lenox. For ten years he and the great London book-seller, Wm. Pickering, had searched the entire world for a copy of the Bay Psalm Book, which Mr. Lenox desired to add to his collection, and the absence of which from his shelves is said to have kept the eminent New York collector from sleeping. The combined efforts of these two experienced sleuths of the world of books were in vain until the day in 1857 when Stevens attending a sale of books at Sotheby's, amused himself, while awaiting the arrival of the auctioneer, in idly opening a packet of books. There, in the middle of a number of insignificant brochures, lay the precious psalter, the objective of his long hunt! And, O irony of fate! he found it among the books of William Pickering, recently deceased, that same book-seller who had been his partner in the decade-long search. Stevens remade the packet again, and prudently withdrew a short distance, without, however, losing sight of it. Composing his face to the required gravity, with that consummate comic art of which he

was a past master, he set himself to await the fateful moment. It arrived, and the packet of books in question was offered as a lot, without any particular description. With the greatest sang-froid in the world and without allowing his voice to betray the least emotion, Stevens opened the bidding by offering sixpence for them. One lone amateur collector, a Mr. Lily, whose long experience no doubt had taught him to be suspicious of even the most harmless seeming action of the celebrated book-dealer, felt obliged to outbid him as a matter of conscience. But, after having vainly sought for some clue in the steady eyes of his rival, and after having in his own turn untied the packet of books offered for sale, he was re-assured that there was nothing to suspect and accordingly refrained from bidding higher. The lot was finally knocked down to Stevens for the ridiculously small sum of nineteen shillings.

Only then did the sly old blade allow his joy to show. Puzzled by the unusual eagerness which he had displayed in securing possession of his recent purchase, his fellow dealers asked

him:

"Well, is there anything so precious about

it, Mr. Stevens?"

"Oh, no," he answered, "it is really nothing—nothing more than a copy of the first book printed in America." And leaving his audience discomfited, he carefully tucked away the Psalter of Stephen Daye in the pocket of his frock-coat and took a triumphant departure.

Some days later he resold the old book for which he had paid nineteen shillings to Mr.

Lenox for eighty pounds.

Brinley's copy—the next to the last, we believe, to be offered at public sale—brought the sum of twelve hundred dollars, in 1879. At the present time, when the collecting of rare books has become a carnival of extravagance and when the sums brought by certain books have reached fantastic figures, what a homeric contest, with bank-notes as weapons, would be waged for the Bay Psalm Book, if by some improbable chance a copy of it should once more appear on the auction tables of one of our leading book-sellers!

In 1640, the Puritans could purchase the Bay Psalm Book for twenty pence, and the sale of the whole issue of seventeen hundred copies brought the publishers one hundred and forty-one pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, a sum less than half that obtained by Mr. Brinley for his copy in 1879. Habent sua fata

libelli.

For a long time after this date, Cambridge continued to be the lone printing centre in America. Activity in the matter of printing became greater as the population increased and as the community became better organized. Beginning in 1660, this activity became pronounced, for in that year the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel imported a new press from London, to be employed exclusively in the production of books in the Indian

MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE

UP-BIBLUM GOD

NANEESWE

NUKKONE TESTAMENT

WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoshkinnamuk nashpe Wurtinneumoh CHRIST uoh asowetit

JOHN ELIOT

CAMBRIDGE:

Printeucop nashpe Samuel Green kalt Marmaduke Johnson.

1 6 .6 3.

language. On arrival, this press was lodged under the same roof with the press brought over in 1639 by the Rev. Jesse Glover, and both were placed under the direction of Samuel Green, Stephen Daye's successor. Green does not seem to have been very proficient at the time he accepted the post of official printer. The first publications is sued under his name resemble those of Daye in their general crudity and faults, and Daye, as we already know, was in his employ. So, it is not surprising that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thought it better to bring a printer of more experience from England in 1660, when a start was being made on the printing of the Indian tracts of John Eliot. Marmaduke Johnson was the name of the new printer. Altogether Samuel Green worked as a printer in Cambridge for more than forty years, and he died there in 1702 at the age of eighty-seven years. His long career gave him a thorough grounding in his art, and he seems to have bred in his descendants taste for and love of printing, for he was the founder of that long dynasty of Greens which for four generations was the pride of American printing.

Marmaduke Johnson, then, is the man chiefly responsible for the printing of those very rare tracts of John Eliot, particularly of the *Indian Primer* and the *Indian Bible*, the two most celebrated. While he was working on the latter book in 1662, he was haled before the courts on the serious charge of having, while

already married to a wife in the Old Country, trifled with the affections of Samuel Green's daughter without the father's consent. He was heavily fined and ordered to return to England; but nevertheless he remained in Cambridge, and in 1663 we find him at his case, setting up the pages of the Indian Bible. From a letter of that same year we also learn that it had been decided to re-engage Johnson and to give him a year's trial. This was done on the request of the Reverend John Eliot, who considered Johnson's help indispensable in the work which had been so unfortunately interrupted by his, Johnson's, fickle conduct. That the stern judges of that land of Blue Laws and the Scarlet Letter should go so far as to agree to a compromise, when the section of the moral code which they particularly had at heart was involved, shows that the forbearance of the worthy John Eliot must have been imparted to others to an unusual extent, and shows also that Marmaduke Johnson was, for his time, a workman of acknowledged superiority. But just as soon as his usefulness was ended, and this came about in 1664, the selfish guardians of the city dismissed him without much mercy.

From Cambridge, printing slowly spread itself over the rest of New England and also into the provinces situated farther south on the Atlantic seaboard. The city of Boston was so close a neighbour that it could hardly escape receiving the first offspring of the mother-press at Cambridge, and the infant art was born

there in 1674. Rather a feeble infant, its early life was attended with difficulties, and its first wails gave no hint of the vigorous and productive career which it was destined to have. Certainly it was only a few years before Boston definitely assumed first place in printing on this continent, and to-day it still remains one of the great world-centres of printing, and so is befittingly called the Athens of North America.

John Foster, who was the first of the long roll of Bostonian printers, did not have a particularly distinguished tenure of office. In his short career he had neither the time nor the capacity to publish other than a few tracts and the inevitable almanacs, but despite his lack of skill as a printer, his death in 1681 created a void which was alarming to Boston. The people there had tasted printer's ink and the heady flavour had mounted to their brains. Printing had already proved such a stimulus to progress that people in Boston felt their ambitious community could not afford to be without it. There was no printer available, but the leading spirits of the city would not admit themselves defeated by such a trifling condition. What chiefly concerned them was the fact that their press must not remain inactive and that, whether poorly or well, it must keep on functioning. On the insistence of his fellowcitizens, Samuel Sewall, a respected judge but never a printer, undertook as a matter of convenience to the public, to fill the position left vacant by the much regretted Foster. Every

one has heard of that character in the comedy who, not knowing the difference between a sharp and a flat, was invited one day when in a salon to play the piano. He sat himself on the stool saying: "I have never played, but I can try!" Samuel Sewall was something of that sort; he tried. Unfortunately, his ability was not as great in printing as in civic matters and he soon discovered that he could not fulfil the duties of his new position. He thereupon asked for and obtained relief from them. To the rescue of the Boston Press in its difficulties there then came, very happily, that old veteran of printing, Samuel Green, bringing with him one of his sons, fresh from his own school. Samuel Green junior, who was joined soon afterwards by his brother, Bartholomew, became the true founder of the printing art in Boston and with them printing in that city entered upon an era of progress in spite of the different troubles which from time to time confronted it. Thomas Fleet, Samuel Kneeland, James Franklin and his illustrious brother, Benjamin Franklin himself, had only to follow the path which they first blazed, in order to make the civil capital of Massachusetts the intellectual capital of America for the next hundred odd years.

The Boston News Letter, issued for the first time in April, 1704, was the pioneer newspaper on this continent. The credit of initiating it goes to John Campbell, the postmaster at that time, and Bartholomew Green had the honour

of printing it.

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The Boston News Letter was a small sheet and would seem very insignificant to-day if placed side by side with the gargantuan newspapers of the present time. But as the force which set journalism in motion, it must perforce be credited with a more weighty influence upon the destiny of America than that exerted

by its bulkier successors.

One lone newspaper, however, even if it happened to be the Boston News Letter itself, which possessed so much vitality that it was able to remain in existence for three-quarters of a century, could not long suffice to appease the intellectual appetite of Boston. In 1719, the Boston Gazette was launched upon its career, and two years later the New England Courant appeared. This latter journal had the distinction of being edited and printed for some time by Benjamin Franklin. Nothing better illustrates the bustling activity in the printing trade at Boston than this almost simultaneous appearance of three newspapers at a period when only one other newspaper had appeared in all the rest of America.

Philadelphia, where this newspaper was published, occupied a place in printing at this time second only to that of Boston. The Quakers of Pennsylvania were not less enterprising than the Puritans of Massachusetts and were just as ardent in defending their principles, and an excuse for what seems like a belated adoption of printing is supplied by the fact that they

arrived in America later than the other colonizing groups. The Quakers were in reality quick to perceive the vital importance of this still relatively new instrument of civilization, and lost little time in putting it to work. Philadelphia possessed a press as early as 1685, within two years of the founding of the colony by William Penn in 1683. The printer in charge of this first press was William Bradford, and in no other American city is the history of printing introduced by a more glorious name.

Distinguished as much by the length as by the brilliance of his services, he will ever be numbered among those who have added highest lustre to the whole profession of printing in America. But he was only able to practise his art in peace at Philadelphia for a relatively short time, and after seven years of labour at his press, which should have brought him a different reward, he was overwhelmed by an outburst of intolerance. Leaving the ungrateful city at once, Bradford transferred his activities to New York, and his subsequent career is enough to show what injury Philadelphia inflicted upon itself in forcing him to depart. However, he left behind him one of his sons, Andrew, and between that time and 1791 three generations of Bradfords upheld the reputation which William had originally attached to the name.

Philadelphia never lacked printers after Bradford's time, but here it is only necessary to mention Samuel Keimer, David Hall, Chris-

topher Sower, Henry Miller and John Dunlap, these being among the most prominent craftsmen of this opening period. There is one, however, who must be placed in a niche apart and of whom it can be said that he overtopped all the rest. This was the illustrious Benjamin Franklin. After having made his debut as a printer in Boston at a very tender age, serving first as an apprentice and later, if certain evidence is correct, as a master printer under the rather rough direction of his brother, James, Benjamin moved to Philadelphia, and before very long had succeeded in establishing himself there on his own account. In a few years, we find him at the head of both an important printing shop and a flourishing book shop. His famous Poor Richard's Almanacks had a sale of more than ten thousand copies, and the spirit which he infused into the Pennsylvania Gazette was such that it continues to exist today, after two hundred years, under the name of the Saturday Evening Post. He was animated by the highest professional standards and he contributed more than any other person of his time to the advancement of the typographic art in Philadelphia. Certain publications of his, for example, the justly famous Cato Major of Cicero in which he himself took such pride, would still do honour to the much better-equipped printers of the present time. Franklin was perhaps not less a great printer for being also a great publicist and a great inventor. Even after public life had claimed his

A

COLLECTION

OF ALL THE

LAWS

Of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA:
Now in Force.

Published by Order of ASSEMBLY



PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN.
M,DCC,XLII.

Benjamin Franklin's judgment in the choice of type faces and his taste in typography, as well as his skill in presswork, greatly influenced the trend of printing in North America.

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

entire energy, he never ceased to show a most lively interest in the profession which he loved so well. He invoked it even in the celebrated epitaph which he composed for himself:

THE BODY OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
PRINTER

(LIKE THE COVER OF AN OLD BOOK,

ITS CONTENTS WORN OUT,

AND STRIPT OF ITS LETTERING AND GILDING,)

LIES HERE, FOOD FOR WORMS.

YET THE WORK ITSELF SHALL NOT BE LOST
FOR IT WILL, AS HE BELIEVED, APPEAR ONCE

MORE IN A NEW AND MORE BEAUTIFUL EDITION

CORRECTED AND AMENDED

BY ITS AUTHOR

It is now time to consider what part was played by the New York colonies in the introduction of printing into America. The truth is that New York had no press until 1693. In these times one can scarcely understand how a colony whose great destiny was already foreshadowed by the enterprising spirit of its inhabitants, could wait so long before harnessing the tremendous power of the press to its own uses. Many reasons have been advanced for New York's backwardness, of which the most credible is that the Royal Government of that time systematically opposed the introduction of printing, not caring to furnish in any

manner or form a means by which the popular

will could be expressed.

Governor Lovelace, it is true, had proposed the establishment of an official press in 1668, but he advanced his suggestion timidly and no attention was paid to it. New York did not see its first press until twenty-five years later, and then only thanks to a singular combination of circumstances. William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer of whom we have already spoken, and who by this time had been released from the prison wherein the religious faction opposed to him had confined him, but had not yet gained possession of his arbitrarily confiscated press and type, about the end of 1692, thought of coming to New York in order to seek justice from Benjamin Fletcher, who was Governor of both Pennsylvania and New York. Fletcher at this time happened to be conducting a military compaign against Canada, and was exceedingly proud of the role he was playing. Dreaming of perpetuating the memory of this exploit in print for posterity, he regarded the meeting with Bradford as providential. He at once offered to redress the injury done Bradford, but on the condition that the latter should follow him to New York. The Quaker, already bitter against his fellow citizens, hardly needed to be beseeched, and in 1693 we find him already occupied with his new duties at New York, working for a salary of forty pounds a year. One of his first concerns was to satisfy the vanity of his new patron, and in this same

year, 1693, he produced the famous Narrative of an attempt made by the French of Canada upon the Mohaques Country. To-day this work is among the rarest examples of American historical literature. Bradford, however, gave other early proofs of his activity. Bulletin of the New York Public Library was able, not very long ago, to present a list of thirty-eight publications which issued from Bradford's shop during the twelve months immediately following his arrival in New York. Such a list of work accomplished in this short time is enough to show us that the sum total of his productions must have been imposing. For thirty years he was the only printer in New York. For another twenty years, although he worked in competition with other printers, he continued to produce work that set the standard for his rivals. When he died in 1752, at the truly patriarchal age of ninetyfour, he had not been in retirement more than seven or eight years.

William Bradford's first competitor in New York was John Peter Zenger, who arrived in New York about 1726. This German printer had a strong political bias to his character and was inclined to be rather quarrelsome. These characteristics contributed to make him a sort of stormy petrel in the history of New York printing. He began by engaging in an open contest with Bradford, setting up the New York Weekly Journal in opposition to the New York Gazette, which Bradford had founded;

but having attacked the government, Zenger ended by spending several months in prison as

a reward for his temerity.

After Bradford and Zenger, Hugh Gaine, James Rivington, John Holt and a few other New York printers gained considerable prominence in their profession, but they can hardly be said to belong to the adolescent period of printing in that city, and to afford them any considerable space would be going outside the necessarily close-bound limits which we have set for ourselves.

In connection with the difficulties which attended the introduction of printing in New York, we have alluded to the scant sympathy accorded it by the authorities of that time. Nothing better illustrates this singular attitude of mind than the case of Virginia. In 1671, nearly sixty years after the foundation of the colony, Sir William Berkeley, the governor, who had thirty-eight years of experience behind him, wrote the following lines in a letter which he addressed to the authorities of the Colonial Office at London:

"I thank God we have not free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from

both."

It appears then that Sir William Berkeley

banished printers from his colony for the same reasons which made Plato banish poets from his Republic! Berkeley, however, died or was replaced a few years after he had given vent to his astounding declaration, and about 1681, under a new regime, a certain John Buckner thought the time opportune to bring his press into Virginia. He began his career there by printing the laws of that year, a thing little less than revolutionary for that period and place. His daring had a lively effect upon the people in general and upon the authorities in particular. The stand was taken that printing was forbidden in Virginia, and Governor Culpeper immediately had the culprit brought before him. The strict command was given Buckner that nothing was to be printed in Virginia, except that for which His Majesty's permission had been definitely secured, and he was forced to give bond to the amount of a hundred pounds as a guarantee of his compliance with the order. The Governor at once submitted the troublous case to the home authorities. The answer did not arrive until 1683, two years later, and was in the form of royal instructions to Lord Effingham, who had succeeded Lord Culpeper. These instructions expressly set forth that the governor should not permit "anyone to use a printing press, no matter what reason or occasion should arise." The infiltration of modern views into Virginia was very slow, and it was fifty years before another press was brought into the colony. In

1736, William Parks, a printer from Annapolis in Maryland, arrived with his press, and as it is hardly right to consider the fleeting career of John Buckner's press in 1681 as being a true beginning, it is really from this time that the introduction of printing should be dated in the country of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, a new conception of liberty had made too much headway for any barrier to be raised capable of stopping the all-conquering march of the printing press. One after the other, all the established colonies succumbed before it. The following table, which shows the names of the first printers and the date of the introduction of printing into each of the thirteen original states of the American Republic, will no doubt interest the reader.

Colony Massachusetts Pennsylvania New York Connecticut Maryland South Carolina Rhode Island Virginia North Carolina New Jersey New Hampshire	Town Cambridge Philadelphia New York New London Annapolis Charleston Newport Williambourg New Berne Woodbridge Portsmouth	Printer Stephen Daye William Bradford William Bradford Thomas Short William Parks Eleanor Philipps James Franklin William Parks James Davis James Parker Daniel Fowle	Date 1639 1685 1693 1709 1726 1730 1732 1736 1749 1751
			,

Only Louisiana remains to be considered of all those sections of Eastern America which were sufficiently colonized at that time to justify the introduction of a printing press. Thomas believed that printing did not begin there until after the acquisition of the territory by the Washington Government in 1804. The truth is, however, that printed matter had been turned out in Louisiana near the end of the French regime. We now know of a little work, entitled Lettre d'un officier de la Louisiane à M cdots commissaire de la Marine, which was printed in Louisiana in 1764. It is interesting to note that this lampoon brought its author, the Chevalier de Rocheblave, several months of imprisonment in the Bastille.

Printing was not inaugurated in some parts of what is now the United States until about the middle of the last century. The printing press could not keep pace with the march of civilization into the West, and we have thus an explanation for the fact that the first printing press did not reach St. Louis until around 1808, and Detroit until 1809. These were introduced as a result of the good offices of the

famous Abbé Gabriel Richard.

On the far-off coast of the Pacific, in the territory which is now California, it seems certain that the first printing was done at Monterey in 1833, by the Spaniards, who had originally come from Mexico, and who were still masters of the country. This Monterey press was seized by the Americans in 1846 directly after the conquest, and in the following year another press was set up at San Francisco. Printing thus completed its conquest of America and linked the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

Nothing now remains for us but to glance briefly at the physical and psychological conditions faced and overcome by those printing pioneers whose careers we have sketched. When we see the difficulties they encountered, the obstacles they overcame, the injustices visited upon them and the few advantages they reaped, we shall respect their memories the more. We are harvesting to-day in ease and liberty the flowers grown from the seeds which they sowed at the cost of incalculable sacrifice and effort.

There is a very rare engraving by Philippe Galle, dating from the end of the sixteenth century, which shows the interior of a Dutch printing house. The printers, sword at side, are dressed in the style of the gentlemen of that day, with nicely laundered cravats, doublets of rich cloth, high boots with ribands and embroideries, and they are comfortably seated on stools provided with soft cushions. Nothing resembles less the interior of a typical printing house in America in 1640, or even around 1700. To a Stephen Daye, for example, no opportunity ever came to work in such sybaritic surroundings. If he carried side-arms at all, it was not a dress-sword, but rather a blunderbuss to defend himself against the savage Indians of the neighbourhood who, even in comparatively civilized Cambridge, might at any moment invade his shop and take his scalp. The life which Stephen Daye led was the rude life of the colonists of that early time.

passed in a New World in which the most ordinary necessities of existence, which are today the lot of even the most humble, were

lacking.

The actual printing itself was carried on under very disadvantageous conditions, with the crudest of equipment, and very often what equipment the printers had was far from complete. Even late in the eighteenth century there were no type foundries or paper mills on this continent, and the printer was forced to send to far-away England for his stock of paper and his type. The time involved, as well as the question of cost, therefore contributed largely to the printer's difficulties. When we are tempted to pass harsh judgment upon the mistakes present in the somewhat defaced productions of our early printers, or to smile at the evident crudities, we have but to recall the poor instruments which force of circumstances compelled them to use. We should then admire at their true worth the industry and application they showed, for they lacked those marvellous automatic presses of the present time, which produce more than 100,000 pages of printed matter in an hour. Even the press which Benjamin Franklin used around 1740, was not appreciably different from that used by the earlier printers at the end of the sixteenth century. It was worked entirely by hand and could not make more than two hundred or three hundred impressions in an hour. One man was required to ink the forms, while

another operated the lever. In the last analysis, the work of printing was as laborious as it was

poorly paid.

But the psychological conditions governing the work of our pioneer printers were perhaps more deplorable still. They lived at a time which we cannot judge properly by presentday standards. Liberty was truly in fetters then. A printer who was not a simple wageearner in the employ of the Government was by that very fact a libeller and a fomenter of discords. All inclination to express an opinion on a matter of public concern was effectively stifled by the authorities. Religious intolerance was perhaps even worse in the numerous theocratic communities which then abounded in the newly founded colonies. It fared ill with the printer whose beliefs did not happen to coincide with those of the most powerful faction.

When Samuel Green, at Cambridge in 1667, began to print the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis, he was immediately denounced to the Assembly of Elders, and this severe tribunal rendered the following judg-

ment after deep deliberation:

"This Court being informed that there is now in the Presse reprinting a book that imitates Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas à Kempis, a popish minister, wherein is contayned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, Doe commend it to the licensers of the Presse the more full revisal thereof and that in the mean-

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time there be no further progresse in that work."

This occurred twenty-five years after John Milton had flung into the face of the world his immortal appeal for freedom of the press, in his famous *Areopagitica*. Obviously, the seeds

which he sowed had not yet sprouted.

If a printer dared to display even a little independence of spirit—and a great number of printers were not wanting in this quality —he was singled out to be fined and even imprisoned. The martyrology of American printers is almost as imposing as that of their European confreres. We already know of the tribulations visited upon William Bradford, how he was thrown into irons in 1692 by his fellow Quakers because of a difference in religious opinion, and we also know of the misadventures of John Peter Zenger, to whom one small but lively criticism of the government in 1733, brought long months of imprisonment in New York. We can likewise learn how James Franklin, brother of the celebrated statesman, was imprisoned at Boston in 1722, for a crime not a whit more serious, and only obtained his liberty when he promised to cease publication of his newspaper, the New England Courant.

Under this twofold trial of physical conditions which handicapped their efforts, and of an atmosphere of intolerance which constantly exposed their enterprises to sudden ruin, we can readily understand that our pioneer printers rarely accumulated fortunes. Most of them

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were able to bequeath their children only the barest necessities of life. It may well be said that certain printers owed their poverty to some weakness in themselves or to bad management of their affairs, but for the most part their poverty can be accounted for by the harshness of the times in which Providence had ordained they should live, by the culpable indifference of even those very people whom the printers nourished so generously with intellectual fare, and by the injustices inflicted upon them by tyrannical authorities. Such poverty is an honour, not a disgrace. For this reason, our early printers have a right to our respect, just as for so many other reasons they have an inalienable right to be remembered by us. For us they ate the bitter bread of troubles and vicissitudes that were their portion in the opening and middle periods of printing in America. It is to their eternal merit that they not only lighted, but managed to keep alight, at a cost of the hardest labour, in times of stress and danger, that torch which to-day illuminates our land with so brilliant a glow—the torch of printing.



"Hereby, tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing."

Fox's Martyrs.



CHAPTER TWO

The Introduction of the Press into the Maritime Provinces



ANADIAN PRINTING is the lineal descendant of American printing, and its birth dates from almost the middle of the 18th century. Throughout the one hundred and fifty years prior to

1763, during which it flourished on this continent, French civilization had many glorious achievements to its credit, the happy influences of which are yet felt; but in the study of these many brilliant manifestations of its vitality, we are nevertheless conscious of an amazing deficiency. Even until the beginning of the English regime in Canada, and at a period when other civilized races were awakening, beneath the pressure of progressive growth of ideas, to the need of new means of expression, the French colonies in North America had nothing with which to express their feelings and thoughts except a limited language and rudimentary handwriting. It was reserved to Anglo-Saxon genius, more audacious, more enterprising, and more free from hampering bonds, to bring to America the printing press, that supreme achievement of modern times.

By 1750, printing was already long-rooted in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and, most firmly of all, in the Puritan colony of Massachusetts. Zealously watched over with tender solicitude, and watered by the generous perspiration of several generations of brave-hearted artisans, it had effectively weathered the strong winds which buffeted it, had endured the tyranny and misery of the times, and, henceforth a perennial plant, it began to disseminate more widely the seeds which more than filled its fertile stamens.

It was thus in this epoch that a little of this pollen dust was blown from the flower gardens of Boston, and, borne on a favorable breeze, sheered off to sea in place of seeking the interior. After having floated hesitantly above the crests of the waves for some time, it ended by casting itself upon the shore of Nova Scotia, the first land to beckon to it during its flight, and planted itself there for a new germination. Such is the law of Nature to which printing owes its transplantation from New England into what is to-day the Dominion of Canada.

Halifax had just been founded, and in one tremendous migration three thousand colonists had flocked there in the train of Cornwallis. Behind this movement there was more than a promise of establishing a permanent settlement, and from all sides people gathered to take part

in the enterprise. The fascination exercised by the venture was felt particularly in Boston, situated directly opposite and only a few days' travel from the Nova Scotian shore. A goodly number of Boston's more industrious artisans left it for the new settlement, and among them the least interesting was assuredly

not Bartholomew Green, Jr.

Son and grandson of printers, he belonged to that illustrious Green dynasty which played so brilliant a part in the history of American printing, and he himself had naturally embraced the ancestral calling. Trained as he was in such a good school, he yet had to endure in Boston the bitter rivalry of his fellow printers; and at the age of fifty years, he had the sublime daring to betake himself and his press to Halifax in order to begin his life anew in a field less encumbered with competitors. But Providence willed that he should die only five weeks after his arrival, in the autumn of 1751. His premature death on the very threshold of the new life of which he had dreamed prevented him from leaving any other trace in the history of Canadian printing, but in consideration of his having been the first to attempt to endow our country with the inestimable gift of the printing press, he certainly deserves an honoured place in these pages.

Happily, printers are somewhat in the same position in the arena of life as the couriers of Lucrece occupied in the Roman arena. When one among them has reached, exhausted, the finish of his career, there is always another ready to receive the flaming torch from his failing hands and spring forth on the course in his place. Thus it was that the heritage left by the vanished Bartholomew Green was immediately picked up by John Bushell, one of Green's old associates in Boston.

More fortunate than his predecessor, Bushell had time to found his modest establishment with more or less solidity. As early as the first week of January, 1752, he had opened his shop at Halifax and had inaugurated the printing era. "He was a good workman," Thomas tells us, "but had not the art of acquiring property, nor did he make the most economical use of the little which fell into his hands." The historian of American printing, by this euphemism, evidently wished to convey the impression that Bushell was not among the first rank of citizens. The legal archives of Nova Scotia, in fact, reveal that he was prosecuted for debts too often, and that in his regular purchases from the grocer the liquid element overbalanced the solid. This deplorable habit, joined with the smallness of his clientele in this initiatory epoch, sufficiently explains Bushell's failure to achieve brilliant prosperity. He was just about able to exist for the ten years of his career at Halifax, during which he was aided greatly by his daughter, Elizabeth, who had become an expert compositor, and also by some official orders which the local government doled out to him stingily.

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His death in January, 1761, ended his in-

glorious career.

In addition to having been the pioneer printer on Canadian soil, Bushell's principal title to consideration in history rests upon the fact that he laid the foundations of Canadian journalism. It was to his spirit of enterprise that we owe the establishment of the Halifax Gazette in January, 1752, the first, in point of time, of all our periodicals. From its beginning, this leaflet, despite its pitiable appearance, was pregnant with future power, inasmuch as it contained the seed of one of our most powerful social institutions; and the humble worker who first breathed life into it, even though he could hardly have foreseen the potentialities of his action, was not on this account a less productive pioneer, and his name deserves to be religiously remembered by us.

Anthony Henry, the successor of John Bushell, had a long and fruitful career of more than forty years, and was one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of printing in the Maritime Provinces. Henry was originally from Germany, and it is believed that he served as a fifer in one of the regiments which took part in the siege of Louisburg, in 1758. Shortly after the siege he resumed practice of the profession in which he had served an apprenticeship in his native country, and he entered Bushell's employ as assistant printer. On the death of the latter, in 1761, he was ready to succeed Bushell. In the judgment of Isaiah

SERMON

Preached at HALIFAX, July 3d, 1770,

At the ORDINATION OF THE

Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingoe.

To the Dutch Calvanistic Presbyterian Congregation at Lunenburg,

By JOHN SECCOMBE, of Chefter, A. M.

Being the First preached in the Province of Nowa-Scotia, on such an Occasion.

To which is added

An APPENDIX.

We find no Evil in this Man: but if a Spirit or an Angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against GOD. All 23. 9.

I have appear'd unto thee to make thee 2 Minister.

All 26. 16

Would GOD, that all the Lords People were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them. Nam. A1, 29.

Latifan Dinted by A Havay area

Halifax: Printed by A. HENRY, 1770. (Price One Shilling.)

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Thomas, who worked under him, he was not in the first rank as a printer, but he was otherwise of an ingenious disposition. In truth, he appears to have been one of those for whom the end justifies the means. To assure himself of the wherewithal to purchase Bushell's property he did not hesitate, first, in 1761, to marry a negress who possessed some resources, and, so the story goes, on becoming a widower fifteen years later, at the age of forty, he married for the same practical reason a more than mature

old lady, about 96 years of age!

Anthony Henry had been working with scarcely any renown when adversity furnished him with an even better opportunity to display his ingenuity, and, still more, his energy. This was in 1765, at the time of the widespread agitation in the Thirteen Colonies engendered by the Stamp Act. The Halifax Gazette, which already had printed some scarcely veiled criticisms of the new fiscal decree, dared to appear one day in October, 1765, without the customary stamp. The loyal authorities of the Government of Nova Scotia were greatly scandalized, and it was in vain that Anthony Henry, protesting his own innocence with more or less sincerity, endeavoured to minimize the incident by ascribing it to a foolish escapade on the part of his young apprentice, Isaiah Thomas, who, not being able to suppress his revolutionary sympathies, had on his own account mutilated the entire stock of stamped paper which had been expressly imported from England.

The authorities, having virtual control of the Halifax Gazette by reason of the official patronage which they could extend, took the newspaper away from the guilty printer in the following year, 1766, and entrusted it to a printer named Robert Fletcher, who had recently arrived from London with a complete typographical outfit. But Henry was one of those who never know when they are beaten. Rather indolent up to then, he now summoned all his energy to brave this first rival, and he entered the fight with determination. In the beginning of 1769, he daringly set up a newspaper of his own, which he called the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, in opposition to Fletcher's official newspaper, now appearing under the name of the Nova Scotia Gazette. The new journal soon became more popular than the older paper, because it was offered for an appreciably lower price and was the expression of a more liberal opinion, and not more than a year later Robert Fletcher definitely retired from the field, convinced that he had met more than his match. Left without a rival, in 1770, Anthony Henry regained his old title of King's Printer, and took control again of the official organ, which he continued to publish until his death in 1801, under the title of Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle.

It was not to be expected, however, that Anthony Henry could continue always to enjoy a monopoly of printing in the growing Maritime Provinces, and at the time of the American Revolution, in 1776, he was already prepared to see his domain invaded by quite a number of printers from New England, who were forced by their loyalty to the Crown to

go into exile.

Margaret Draper, that heroine of American journalism, who had courageously published her newspaper, the Newsletter, up to the very day that Boston was evacuated by the British forces, was the first to arrive in Halifax with her printing outfit. She only remained a few months in that city, however, before she returned to England, where she died; but she left behind her the young John Howe, whom she had brought with her from Boston, and this deed is enough to make her short stay in the capital of Nova Scotia a memorable one.

John Howe was for many years the leading printer in the Maritime Provinces, dominating his professional associates for a long time before he succeeded Anthony Henry as King's Printer in 1801, and he continued to occupy the leading place in the art until his death in 1835. As fruit of his long career, he left many monuments which give testimony to his typographic skill and his ability as an artisan, but his greatest contribution remains, without fear of contradiction, his son, the Honourable Joseph Howe, who, after having been a printer himself, became one of the great parliamentarians and journalists of his native province.

Contemporary with John Howe, or a short time after him, there came William Minns,

BRIEFTHE IEW

Religious TENETS and SENTIMENTS.

Larely published and spread in the Province of Nova-Scotia; which are contained in a Book, entitled

"TWO MITES, on some of the most important and much disputed Points of Divinity, &c."

AND

"In a SERMON preached at Liverpool, November 19, 1782;"

"The ANTITRADITIONIST:"
ALL BEING PUBLICATIONS OF
Mr. HENRY ALLINE,

WITH

Some brief Reflections and Observations:

A L S O,

A VIEW of the Ordination of the Author of these Books:

TOGETHER WITH

A DISCOURSE on external Order.

By JONATHAN SCOTT,

JUDE. verse 3. Beloved, when I gave all Diligence to write unto you of the common Salvation: It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earneftly contend for the Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints.

HALIFAX:

Printed by JOHN HOWE, in BARRINGTON-STREET.

MDCCLXXXIV.

One of the many works from the Press of John Howe, father of the famous printer and statesman, Hon. Joseph Howe.

Nathaniel Mills and James Humphreys, who each contributed to the widening of the sway of printing in Nova Scotia. These new and valuable recruits distinguished themselves by their remarkable activity and, to give the reader some idea of their enterprise, it is enough to say that in the city of Halifax alone, around the year 1786, there were appearing three newspapers whose long existence proved how solidly they were established. These newspapers were: the Nova Scotia Gazette, of Anthony Henry; the Halifax Journal, of John Howe, and the Weekly Chronicle, of William Minns. At the same time, the little town of Shelburne which was then on a fair way to become an important centre, but whose meteoric glitter was soon extinguished — found the means of supporting three other newspapers: the Royal American Gazette, the Port Roseway Gazette, and the Nova Scotia Packet.

In Halifax chiefly, the radiancy thus imparted has never been dimmed. Its inhabitants could claim that at the beginning of the 19th century, with the entry on the scene of John Howe, Jr., E. Gay, James Bagnall, Edmund Ward, and Anthony Henry Holland particularly, printing had for a certainty passed its infantile stage in Nova Scotia and was rapidly

travelling the road to maturity.

Before passing on to another chapter, we should give at least a little space to the productions themselves of the Nova Scotian printing shops. Especially in the beginning, these

publications were neither numerous nor important, and the oldest ones are to-day extremely difficult to trace. Bibliophiles have only been able to locate a few titles in spite of the most diligent efforts. Of many, only a single example now remains either in public or private collections, but a greater number have totally

disappeared.

As in all the new-born colonies of America, where printing had at first been a governmental, rather than a popular need, in Nova Scotia it was not able to subsist in the early stages of its growth except by the official patronage which it received. The government's primary interest in printing was as a means of promulgating its different proclamations or of publishing its laws. During long years at Halifax, John Bushell and Anthony Henry himself had scarcely anything except official publications with which to feed their presses. Except for the Halifax Gazette, the oldest printed document of which we know to-day is precisely one of these official publications, "An Act for the Relief of Debtors with respect to the Imprisonment of their persons." This earliest effort of John Bushell's dates from December, 1752, and although he worked until 1761, nearly ten years longer, we have not been able to find more than one other product of his press in addition to his newspaper. This is dated 1753, was published in both English and French, and is entitled: "Treaty or Articles of Peace between His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson

. . . and Major Jean-Baptiste Cope, Chief Sachem of the Tribe of Mickmack Indians."

But these publications, like the others which Bushell must have printed and which have all been lost, were only brochures of a few pages, eminently perishable by their very nature. The first work of any importance printed in Nova Scotia seems to have been the volume printed in 1767 by Robert Fletcher: "The Perpetual Acts of the General Assemblies of H. M.'s Province of Nova Scotia." This is a collection of laws edited by Judge Belcher and runs to not less than two hundred and seventy-five folio pages.

Following the publication of the laws, and conforming to the rule observed by all newly established printing crafts, there ordinarily came publications of a religious character, and these were not wanting in Nova Scotia. The first of the kind was an ordination sermon delivered by the Reverend J. Seccombe, a Calvinist minister, and published by Anthony

Henry in 1770.

Religious controversies perhaps furnished the greatest amount of work to the printing shops in Halifax in the early days. Anglican bishops, Presbyterian clergymen, Calvinist ministers, and Catholic priests entered the lists one against the other, keeping the presses of Henry or John Howe running busily, and it can be said that it was writings of this kind that formed the major part of the printing done in Nova Scotia around the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. To "Two

Mites," by Henry Allen, an itinerant preacher, which was published in 1781, the Reverend Jonathan Scott replied in 1784 with another tract not a wit less weighty: "A brief view of the Tenets contained in the Two Mites." In 1804 a work by the Abbé Burke, later Catholic bishop of Halifax, entitled "Letter of Instructions," aroused an even sharper controversy which lasted some years, and was waged between the author on one hand and the Very Reverend Charles Inglis and the Reverend Sanster on the other.

We should like to go on to deal with political tracts and purely literary works, some of which are of the highest interest, but both time and the space at our disposal forbid, and it is necessary that we now turn our attention to New Brunswick, the second of the Maritime Provinces.

The history of printing in New Brunswick is a quarter-century shorter than that of printing in Nova Scotia. This is not, however, a sufficient reason for disposing of it as summarily as was done by Isaiah Thomas in his classic work, where he contents himself with saying, "After the peace in 1784 printing found its way into the Province of New Brunswick." Furthermore, even if it be true that New Brunswick was not constituted a province until 1784, the date when it was detached from Nova Scotia, it is not correct to say that printing had not commenced by that date in the territory

which was to constitute the province. Nearly two years previously, in 1783, a Loyalist printer by the name of John Ryan had already established a press in conjunction with William Lewis in Parr-Town, which is to-day part of the city of Saint John, and begun the publication of a newspaper: The Royal St. John's Gazette. Lewis returned to the United States almost immediately, but Ryan continued to practise in the province for nearly a score of years afterwards. Meanwhile the new government had been organized, and when it was necessary, according to the usual tradition, for the authorities to assure themselves of the services of an official printer, their choice did not fall upon John Ryan. The good pleasure of the authorities fell upon Christopher Sower, another Loyalist printer. Sower, third of the name, was German by origin, but a native of Pennsylvania. He was conducting a printing shop at Germantown which he had inherited from his father and grandfather, when, after the conclusion of peace in 1783, he chose to remain loyal to the Crown and removed to Saint John in 1785. He was immediately named Printer to His Majesty, and in the same year, he established, with official support, a newspaper: The Royal Gazette and New-Brunswick Advertiser. Ryan's sheet continued to exist, nevertheless, under the changed name of The St. John Gazette.

There does not appear to have been a very lively rivalry between the two typographers.

JOURNAL

OF THE

Votes and Proceedings

OF THE

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

OF THE

PROVINCE of NEW-BRUNSWICK:

From Tuefday the 3d of JANUARY, to Wednesday the 15th of MARCH, 1786.



ST. JOHN:

Printed by CHRISTOPHER SOWER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1786.

The work of Christopher Sower, a loyalist from Pennsylvania, appointed the first King's Printer in New Brunswick in 1783.

More than once we come across their two names as joint printers of the same work, and in 1787, as well as in 1788, at a time when Sower was still King's Printer, it was John Ryan who, substituting for him probably during an absence, published in Sower's place the Journals of the Assembly. When Sower died of apoplexy in Baltimore, in 1799, while on a journey, it was the same John Ryan who succeeded him in the official position. Ryan departed for St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1807, and his place was taken by his brother-in-law, Jacob S. Mott.

All this time, printing was extending itself beyond the limits of Saint John, and invading other towns, among them being Fredericton and St. Andrew's. In the first years of the 19th century, New Brunswick possessed a veritable group of excellent printers, who were worthy rivals of their fellow craftsmen in Nova Scotia, and perhaps the most noteworthy amongst them were Michael Ryan, William Durant, William Reynolds, Geo. K. Lugrin, and Henry Chubb. With the advent of these master workmen printing in the newer Province reached maturity.

As in Nova Scotia, the first printers in New Brunswick had to depend almost entirely upon official patronage. For a rather long period mostly all their work was confined to the more or less regular publication of one or two periodicals and the annual printing of the Assembly Journals. Even until 1800 the entire output of Saint John's presses consisted of the popular

annual almanacs and of a certain number of religious publications, funeral sermons, peti-

tions, episcopal orders, etc.

The earliest precursor of the book published in New Brunswick seems to have been an almanac printed by Christopher Sower at the end of 1785. It is entitled "An astronomical Diary and Almanac for 1786..." by Julius

Scaliger, Jr.

As for the religious publications which, with the legal and parliamentary documents, monopolized the whole of the New Brunswick press until the commencement of the 19th century, the series was opened by a rather curious sermon of the Reverend George Bisset, published in 1787: "The Pleasures and advantages of Brotherly Love; a sermon preached before the 5th Regimental Lodge of the Free and accepted Masons."

Political and literary activity became naturally more intensified in the first years of the 19th century, and in New Brunswick printing rapidly entered upon a flourishing period which, unfortunately, is outside the province of this discussion.

We have yet to deal with the third of the Maritime Provinces, Prince Edward Island, whose unassuming motto *Parva sub ingenti* is applicable even to its printing.

Lieutenant-Governor Fanning was responsible for the introduction of the first press into Charlottetown, and official records show that

he did not achieve this without trouble. On the 6th of December, 1788, Fanning wrote to Sydney, the Secretary of State, that he had invited a printer named Robertson to set up a press in Charlottetown, since he had learned that there had never been a printing press on the Island; that the assembly records and the acts had never been published; and that certain of the latter had even been lost. He went on to say that Robertson was already at work and had begun to print a complete collection of the laws, and requested that Robertson be named King's Printer with the same stipend as the King's Printer in New Brunswick.

Grenville replied to Fanning on the 20th of October, 1789, and clearly stated that he had no objection to Robertson being named King's Printer, but that he could not attach any sal-

ary to the position.

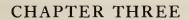
Robertson had already transferred to Charlottetown his newspaper, The Royal American Gazette, which he had first of all printed in New York and later in Shelburne, Nova Scotia. In spite of the scarcely encouraging reception accorded him by the Minister, he nevertheless accepted the post which Fanning wished to confer on him, and he occupied it uncomplainingly for several years. He was not, however, able to hold out beyond 1798. We learn that in this year Fanning informed Lord Portland that the printer having left the island, he was afraid that the publication of the laws would be delayed in the future.

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

We know of no printer in Charlottetown after Robertson until the arrival, about 1814, of John Bagnall, who had previously practised

his profession at Halifax.

Such is the history, necessarily abridged, of the origin of printing in our Maritime Provinces. The early stages in each case were difficult ones, but the flowering seasons which followed the slow periods of germination have been the richer and more fruitful. There was no other section of Canada wherein intellectual activity was more intense than in the Maritime Provinces. These provinces have given to our national literature the greatest number of glorious names, and it may be said that the press, which they were the first to welcome, has repaid them liberally in glory and renown for their generous hospitality.



"Our art was hail'd from kingdoms far abroad, And cherish'd in the hallow'd house of God; From which we learn the homage it received, And how our sires its heavenly birth believed. Each printer hence, howe'er unblest his walls, E'en to this day his shop a Chapel calls."

M'Creery: The Press.



CHAPTER THREE

The Introduction of the Press into the Province of Quebec



T IS THE general opinion that printing only began in Canada, properly so-called, after the country had been conquered by the English. Some bibliographers, however, find it hard to concede

that, during the whole century and a half of its existence, New France could have remained deprived of a useful tool which all other civilized nations, especially its own neighbours, vied with each other in obtaining. They claim that at least one press was in operation towards the close of the French regime, and we must admit that some of the arguments which they marshall in support of their theory cannot be lightly rejected. It would be difficult to write the history of the beginnings of printing in Canada without first considering this preliminary question, which is, moreover, of the greatest interest.

One thing is certain, that, even in the very early days of the colony, the question of

introducing a printing press into New France had been considered more than once. original missionaries, in the interests of the Gospel, were the first to think of it, as did the Franciscans in Mexico and the Puritan ministers in New England. Proof of this may be found in the following significant entry in the Journal des Jésuites, under date of September, "Nous concluons d'escrire pour avoir icy une imprimerie pour les langues." (We decide to write in order to establish here a printing shop for languages). However, there is nothing to indicate that this bold project was ever carried out, although we do find, in the Census of 1667, there is an entry of a certain Achille Masson who was a printer; but this evidently refers to a printer who had no type because, having stated that he lived on the Ile d'Orleans, it adds that he was "engagé domestique" (domestic servant).

The Sulpicians in Montreal appear to have cherished the same ambition in 1683, as the Jesuits in Quebec did in 1665, but with no more success. The reply which M. de Belmont received from M. Tronson, the Superior in Paris, deserves, we think, to be quoted: "On a cru qu'il serait inutile de vous envoyer les caractères pour imprimer que vous demandiez parce qu'on nous a dit que vous ne pourriez pas vous en servir et que les livres ne vous en apprendraient pas assez pour pouvoir y réussir." (It is believed to be useless to send you type for printing, as requested by you, because we

are advised that you would be unable to use it, and that books could not give you adequate instruction to enable you to employ it

successfully.)

Nevertheless, it has been claimed, *that somewhere about the same time, Mgr de St. Vallier had caused one of his "mandements" (mandates) to be printed at Quebec; this theory is based on the fact that it is dated the 22nd October, 1686, at which time the second Bishop of Quebec was still on this continent, and consequently he must have had a small press at his disposal. This assumption is certainly a bold one. This one piece of printing of 1686, would appear very small in the whole history of New France to be cited as the sole product of a Canadian press, and it seems to us more reasonable to assume that Mgr de St. Vallier had simply handed it at a later date to Parisian printers, during a journey which he made in France immediately afterwards. Further, there are many reasons for believing that M. Tronson's discreet remark in relation to Montreal in 1683 applied equally to Quebec in 1686.

The nearest approach to the introduction of printing into New France is the attempt which we find was made sixty years later, in 1749, by M. de la Galissonnière. When he raised the matter with the Minister of Marine, that official contented himself with putting forward the statement that a press would be eminently

^{*}Report of the Canadian Archives for 1910, p. 56

TRIAL

OF

DANIEL DISNEY, Efq;

Captain of a Company in His Majesty's 44th Regiment of Foot, and Town-Major of the Garrison of Montreal, at the Session of the Supreme-Court of Judicature, holden at Montreal, on Saturday the 28th Day of February, and thence continued by Adjournments to Wednesday the 11th Day of March, 1767, before the Honourable WILLIAM HEY, Esq; Chief-Justice of the Province of Quebec, upon an Indictment containing two Charges, the one for a Burglary and Felony, in breaking and entering Mr. Thomas Walker's House, at Montreal, on the Night of the 6th Day of December, in the Year 1764, with an Intention to murder the said Thomas Walker, the other for feloniously and of Malice aforethought cutting off the Right Ear of the said Thomas Walker, with Intention thereby to dissigure him, against the Form of the Statute of 22 and 23 Car. II. Cap. i. in that Case made and provided.

1 Heathers

QUEBEC:

Printed by BROWN & GILMORE.

M,DCC,LXVII.

The first book printed in the English language in Lower Canada.

useful in the colony for the promulgation of the laws and regulations; but, being himself a literary man and a savant, he must also have thought that it was time, in view of the state of civilization existing in New France, to provide means for the dissemination of ideas. Unfortunately, once again the central authority held to the usual method of temporising. The official reply was that it was necessary to wait until such time as a printer should present himself, and that when this occurred, consideration would be given to the conditions upon which the privilege might be granted to him. The famous botanist, Kalm, who visited Quebec in 1749 and was received there by M. de la Galissonnière, writing actually at that date stated: "Il n'y a pas d'imprimerie au Canada, quoiqu'il y en ait eu autrefois." (There is no printing shop in Canada although there used to be one.) In the particular circumstances, this statement cannot be accepted as the testimony of a witness. M. de la Galissonnière had evidently spoken of his project with the foreign visitor, and it is quite possible that the latter. being himself a Swede, did not grasp exactly what was in the mind of the French speaker.

We must now deal with the Pontbriand problem, a question which in the first instance was simply puzzling, but which for some time certain people appear to have accustomed themselves to considering as definitely solved.

About 1895, M. Philéas Gagnon, the wellknown Quebec bibliophile, discovered—he has never said where nor how—a treasure trove comprising two printed mandates of the last French Bishop of Quebec, Mgr de Pontbriand, both dated 1759. In the enthusiasm of his discovery, he was easily convinced that these two publications had been printed in Quebec, and he even decided that they were the product of a little press which was the private property of the author of the letters. He has endeavoured at some length to explain his reasons in his Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne; and although they have won the assent of Mr. D. C. McMurtrie, who has just given them fresh publicity in a recent publication, we regret to state that for our part we have not found them convincing.

M. Gagnon's solitary argument rests, in effect, upon the date of the two mandates. A claim had already been made that a document of Mgr de St. Vallier had been printed in Canada because it bore a date which coincided with the time when the author was actually in Quebec; therefore M. Gagnon made up his mind that the mandates of Mgr de Pontbriand must have been printed either in Quebec or in Montreal because they were dated 1759, at which time not only was the bishop, their author, in this country, but, on account of the war, he was deprived of any means of communicating with France. He forgets just one thing; that is, that although a document

of this description may be dated, say, the 18th October, 1759, that being the day on which it was promulgated, it does not necessarily follow that such document, if printed copies be found, had been printed exactly on the 18th October, 1759. Is it not quite possible that the mandates in question, which immediately preceded the fall of the colony and the departure of a large number of functionaries or officers, were carried to France in manuscript form and were there judged to be of sufficient documentary value to be printed? Granted that such be possible, the claim of M. Gagnon must be valued only as a statement which has no foundation in fact.

Why is it, indeed, that in all the parishes that preserved the episcopal mandates, which were regularly distributed to them, one finds only the manuscript copy of these same pastoral letters of Monseigneur de Pontbriand, promulgated in the form usual at the time? Why, moreover, has no one ever found any trace of that press which Mgr de Pontbriand is supposed to have possessed, and which, according to M. Gagnon, would surely have been taken by its proprietor to Montreal after the capture of Quebec? We have ourselves carefully examined the detailed inventory of all the possessions which the last bishop of the French regime left at his death in 1760, and although it includes all sorts of articles, from his state coach to his candlesticks and his kettledrums, we have not found in it any mention whatever

AKITAMI

KAKIKEMESUDI-ARENARAG'

AUIKHIGAN,

Messiui Arenâbak

Uâbanakéuiak uitsi

Pépâmkamigék éitlik,

Kisittunésa Jan Batist Nudenans,

MEKAZEUSSEUET

NEGE

u-d-Arefigâtegui Patrihansa.

राष्ट्रसम्बर्धनार सम्बर्धनार १ सम्बर्धनार सम्बर्धनार सम्बर्धन

KEBEK-DARI,

Arenarag'auikhigebanik BROUN, té GIRMORE.

1770.

A unique copy of the first book ever printed in the Abnaki language.

of a printing press, small or large, although the rarity of such an article would certainly have

assured it being mentioned.

For these reasons, and for others which the space at our disposal does not permit us to set out, we hold to our belief that there was never a printing shop in Canada under the standard of the fleurs-de-lys. This sign of progress had to wait until the opening of the British regime, whose methods of colonial administration, inspired by an entirely different spirit, allowed more scope for individual initiative, and which was more adaptable to the progress of modern ideas. There is nothing to indicate that anyone will ever succeed in depriving William Brown of the honour of having introduced the first printing press into Canada, in the year 1764.

William Brown was a native of County Kirk-cudbright, in Scotland, who came to America as a youth. After having worked for some time in Virginia, and even conducted a workshop in the Barbadoes for William Dunlap, the master-printer of Philadelphia, who, besides being his patron, was believed to be his uncle, he decided, about 1763, to go and try his fortune on the Canadian side of the border, which had just passed under English rule. He was not more than 27 years of age at that time, but his courage and his resolute spirit were equal to the enterprise. His first care was to look for

an associate, and he soon found one in the person of a fellow-worker in Philadelphia, Thomas Gilmore. The deed of partnership between the two friends is dated the 5th August, 1763, and we read in it that each had deposited in the hands of William Dunlap a sum of £72, as initial capital. Brown, the leader, set off for Quebec in order to prepare the way, and shortly afterwards Gilmore embarked for England, to make the necessary purchases of a press, with type and paper. At length, in June, 1764, they found themselves together at Quebec, actually ready to start work. During the interval, Brown had distributed a prospectus announcing the forthcoming appearance of a weekly newspaper, and a response to his appeal had been received from 143 subscribers, of whom half were English and half French. It was little enough, but the two courageous printers were not the men to draw back, and on the 21st June, 1764, the first number of the promised newspaper appeared, which must have aroused a considerable amount of interest and curiosity amongst the people of Quebec.

This paper was the famous Gazette de Québec, which did not cease publication until 1874, and only suffered two short interruptions during its long existence of more than 110 years: one in 1765, following the Stamp Act, and the other in 1775, due to the American invasion. An extremely modest paper in its beginnings, for a long time it did little more than publish, in both English and French, the Governor's

regulations and the merchants' advertisements; but we know that it attained considerable importance finally as a party journal, especially after it had gained its freedom from the official

yoke.

Brown and Gilmore, however, could not remain satisfied with the publication of one journal for 140 or 150 subscribers, even with the addition of a civil salary of £50 per annum. They had to find other material for their press, and little by little they succeeded. First of all came the little jobs that are the small change of the printing shop: calendars, sales notices, order forms, certificates, army bills, etc.; then

followed pamphlets and, finally, books.

What, apart from the journal, was the first publication that issued from the presses of Quebec? This question has long been debated; but we think to-day that it has been practically decided, thanks to the valuable Day Book of Brown and Gilmore, which is now preserved in the Archives of the Dominion, and which permits us to follow, almost day by day, the progress of Canadian printing during a great many years. This Day Book confirms the claim of Dr. Hubert Neilson, and clearly reveals that the first publication printed in Canada, and worthy of the name, was not, as has long been thought, the Catéchisme du Diocèse de Sens, printed in 1765, but was an English brochure of about fifteen pages, the Presentment to the Grand Juries, produced some months earlier in the same year. No one except Dr. Neilson, who affirmed that he had it in his possession, has ever seen a copy of this *Presentment*, and for this reason it is supposed by some people to be a myth, but we do not believe that anyone who has had the advantage of examining the papers of Brown and Gilmore could doubt its existence.

Although deprived of its first place in order of publication, however, the Catéchisme du diocèse de Sens is none the less entitled to our veneration, because it is still the earliest printed work which may properly be honoured with the name of book. And it is perhaps worthy of remark that out of an unusually large pull of 2000 copies, indicated in the account book of Brown and Gilmore, only five or six copies ap-

pear to be in existence to-day.

Amongst the famous or otherwise important works also produced by the partners Brown and Gilmore, we must mention a rare impression of The Stamp Act, made in 1766, which is practically unknown to bibliographers; the Nehiro-Iriniui, published in 1767 in the Montagnais language by the legendary Father Labrosse; the Ordinances of 1767, a publication of 81 pages in folio, the excellent typography of which is a credit to the primitive Quebec workshop; and finally, in 1767 also, The Trial of Daniel Disney, which relates to the celebrated Walker affair and which, for that reason, possesses considerable historical interest as well as its bibliographical value. We will not speak here of the Psautiers, Neuvaines,

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and other books of piety for which Brown and Gilmore received orders, from time to time, from the different booksellers of the capital.

Thomas Gilmore died in 1772. Whilst his death must have caused the survivor, Brown, a certain amount of embarrassment, it must also have been a relief for him from another standpoint, for contemporary documents show that the deceased, living in an age of hard drinking, had contracted the habit of intemperance which increased until he finally became a burden. However that may be, Brown continued to work in association with Gilmore's heirs for some time, but soon set on foot proceedings to dissolve the partnership. This was not completed until in 1774. From that time on until his own death, fifteen years later, Brown continued to manage his workshop singlehanded with so much success that, when he was removed by death, he was able to bequeath to his heirs the sum of £15,000, a considerable amount of money for that period, and especially for a printer.

Of the works produced by Brown in this latter part of his career, we will mention only on account of their particular interest, the three legal *Traités* of the Jurist Cugnet, published in 1775; the *Ordinances* of 1777 were later followed by those of 1780 and 1786; *The Order for the morning prayer*, the first book published in the Iroquois language

ALMANACH

DE

QUEBEC,

POUR

L'Année Bissextile M,DCC,LXXX.



A QUEBEC:

Chez Guillaume Brown, à la Haute-ville Dèrriere l'Eglise Cathédrale.

The rare first issue of the Quebec or Neilson Almanack.

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by Daniel Claus in 1780; the *Psautier* of 1782, which is noteworthy because of the little woodcuts which are believed to be the first executed in Canada; and finally the celebrated *Direction pour la guérison du Mal de la Baie St-Paul*, prepared by the surgeon Badelard.

But amongst all the initiative work which we can place to the credit of William Brown, there is perhaps none upon which we may congratulate ourselves more highly than the treasure he bequeathed to us in the invaluable collection of the Almanacks of Quebec. The first of these precious little books, which appeared in 1780, gave little indication of the heights to which the following issues would rise. The series was carried on from 1780 to 1841 with the exception of three breaks, in the years 1789, 1790 and 1793, and possibly a fourth, if we count also the year 1786, concerning which there is still some mystery. The collection constitutes a veritable mine of information which no Canadian historian can afford to neglect.

When Fleury Mesplet established the first printing shop in Montreal in 1776—an establishment which we can here only mention in passing, reserving for a later chapter the history of its extremely productive career—William Brown had no great cause to be alarmed, because in spite of the energy of the newcomer, the competition which he had to meet was

nullified by the distance separating them. It was not until a few months before his death that he saw his own neighbourhood of Quebec invaded by a rival, whom he himself was not left to distinguish as either dangerous or harmless. We refer to William Moore, who set up in Quebec a more or less imposing workshop under the name of the Nouvelle Imprimerie, and began, on the 24th November, 1788, the simultaneous publication of two newspapers, one French, Le Courrier de Québec ou Héraut français, and the other English, The Quebec Herald and Universal Miscellany. The first, which was really only a translation of the second, only ran into three numbers and had to be discontinued, there not being enough subscribers to defray the cost of the paper. With a perseverance worthy of a better cause, however, Moore continued to publish his English edition, The Quebec Herald. Up to what date it continued to appear, we do not know. Some say it ran until 1794, but that does not appear to us to be probable, because on the 4th Tune. 1793, all Moore's effects were seized for nonpayment of rent, and that was probably the end of his hazardous undertaking. Up to the present time, only copies of The Quebec Herald covering a period of two years have been traced, viz: from the 24th November, 1788, to the 18th November, 1790. From November, 1789, to November, 1790, the newspaper even appeared twice weekly, on Monday and on Thursday, under the changed name of Quebec Herald Miscellany and Advertiser, and because all the issues of the Mondays, on the one hand, and of the Thursdays, on the other, have been found separately bound, and arranged in order with only one copy of each issue, many people have erroneously concluded that they

were two distinct publications.

Moore left but a few other works besides his newspaper, but practically all of these are of real value. Thus in 1791, for example, he published *The Paper read at the bar of the House, by Mr. Lymburner*, the French text of which the editor Neilson issued in the same year. Moore's production is remarkable in that it might have inaugurated a series in the manner of Hansard, but it was followed by only one later number, published in the same year and reproducing the text of the Constitution of 1791.

Moore also produced, in 1790 and in 1791, the two first *Directories* of the city of Quebec, the author of which was his father-in-law, Hugh Mackay, and these are of so much documentary importance that we cannot regret too

keenly their excessive rarity.

The last work issued from his presses, so far as our knowledge goes, is an *Almanack* for 1792, which is excellently printed, and which would undoubtedly have proved a serious competitor for Neilson's if its author had possessed the necessary means to follow it up. But it is evident that Moore was already at the end of his resources, and it was probably only a short

time after that supreme effort that he was obliged to leave the neigbourhood, and set out for some destination which is still unknown. Although he lived poorly and paid for his workshop, a miserable garret, the sum of only \$6.00 a year (we have the receipt signed in his own hand) he had never been able to make ends meet, and his career at Quebec came to a melancholy conclusion in the clutches of the bailiffs.

During this period, Samuel Neilson had come from Scotland to collect the inheritance of William Brown, his maternal uncle, and in spite of the difficult competition which he met with from the needy Moore, he continued to carry on successfully the workshop which he had found already solidly established. Providence, unfortunately, permitted him but a short career. About 1793, he was carried off prematurely in the prime of his life. He had only time to publish in his own name a few works, amongst which, however, we must mention The Copy of the letter of the Bishop of Capsa, in 1790, and The Ancient French Archives, in 1791. He it was, also, who launched the first periodical review known in Canada, in 1792, under the title of Quebec Magazine. This publication, which perhaps was in advance of its time and which had to be discontinued in July, 1794, contained what we believe to be the first steel engravings executed in Canada, the work of J. G. Hockstetter.

Šamuel Neilson, when he died in 1793, left

as his heir his brother, John; but as the latter was then only 17 years of age he could only carry on his affairs under the supervision of his tutor, the Rev. Alexander Spark. The young printer, however, was able to turn to advantage this period of waiting, and when he formally took up the reins of management at his majority, in 1796, he was already extremely well prepared for the task that awaited him. Doubtless it is unnecessary to repeat here the already well-known history of John Neilson, in his day one of the men most highly appreciated for his talent and his integrity; one of those, moreover, who in a particularly troubled epoch of our history, played a most important and a most honourable part, both in his newspaper and in the deliberative assemblies. But although it can never be entirely forgotten that he was a printer, it is nevertheless a fact that he is becoming more and more regarded principally as a statesman. The official biographer who will some day undertake to set down the story of John Neilson, will not present a true portrait unless he devotes equal attention to exhibiting in him, by the side of the great citizen, the great printer. John Neilson was one of those who loved their art most fervently and have honoured it most highly. His workshop on the Cote de la Montagne was indeed the centre of printing in Canada for half a century, and amongst the numerous printers whom he saw establish themselves successively around him in Quebec, in Montreal,

ANNO REGNI

GEORGII III.

Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ,
Q U I N T O.

Au Parlement commencé et tenu à WESTMINSTER, le Dixneuviéme Jour de Mai, Anno Domini 1761, dans la première Année du Régne de notre Souverain Seigneur GEORGE III. par la Grace de DIEU, de la Grande-Brétagne, de France et d'Irlande, Roi, Défenseur de la Foi, &c.

Et continué depuis par plusieures Prorogations jusques au Dixième Jour de Janvier, 1765, qui fait la Quatrième Séance du Douzième Parlement de la Grande-Brétagne.



A QUEBEC:

De l'Impression de BROWN & GILMORE, Imprimeurs.

M, DCC, LXVI.

A hitherto unknown Canadian issue of the famous American Stamp Act. and even in Upper Canada, there was not one, as his voluminous correspondence leads one to believe, who was not in some way his debtor, and who had not occasion to apply to him for some kind of support, either material or moral.

As to the typographical productions of John Neilson during his long career, we cannot here enumerate even the more important. They are far too numerous, beginning with the first Journal of our Legislative Assembly in 1793, and continuing to the Sketch of Business before the Provincial Parliament of 1826, and to attempt a list would be to transform this brief historical sketch into a catalogue. It must suffice for us to say that they cover all subjects: religion, literature, politics and history; and that year after year they reveal in the masterworker who produced them a striving after perfection which was ever growing, and a professional conscience becoming always more refined.

There were other printers connected with the same pioneer period, who for various rea-

sons have a right to our attention.

In a short history of the Gazette de Québec, issued by John Neilson in 1822, on the occasion of his difficulties with the new Quebec Gazette by Authority of Dr. Fisher, which had been prepared by Samuel Neilson in January, 1792, the latter recalls that in addition to himself there were at that time two other printers in Quebec.

For a long time this reference of Samuel Neilson has puzzled bibliographers, for they had knowledge only of William Moore, who had been working at Quebec by the side of Samuel Neilson between 1790 and 1792. Who, then, could be this third printer, of whom all other traces outside this mention had been so completely lost? The mystery has not yet been solved. At one time we thought that it might be John Jones who, although actually he only appears upon the scene of action in August, 1794, with the publication of his bi-lingual newspaper, The Times-Le cours du temps, might really have opened his workshop some time previously. In the first issue of his paper, however, that of August 5, 1794, Jones announces himself as a newcomer, and mentions as recent events the arrival of his printing press and the opening of his workshop.

John Jones did not figure in the profession for very long, nor does his name appear in connection with any other publications. He does not appear to have produced anything at all outside *The Times*, and towards the middle of 1795 we find him already informing his readers that he has transferred all his rights in the newspaper and in his workshop, the Nouvelle Imprimerie, to William Vondenvelden, who was probably already associated with him.

Vondenvelden, who added to his professional work as a printer the office of Provincial Landsurveyor, continued to publish *The Times* for a while, but after struggling courageously until

the 27th July, 1795, at which time he had completed the issue of his 52nd number, he was compelled to discontinue it. However this was not the termination of his activities as a printer. Between 1794 and 1798, the products of the Nouvelle Imprimerie were very numerous and some were ambitious, such as *The Laws*

of Canada, in 1794.

About 1798, and most probably in 1799, the Nouvelle Imprimerie again changed hands, and was transferred by William Vondenvelden to Pierre-Edouard Desbarats, originally French translator to the Legislative Assembly, who superseded John Neilson himself as King's Printer about the year 1800, and continued to hold that office until his death in 1827. In addition to publishing the laws of the Province, the Nouvelle Imprimerie, whilst operating under Desbarats, produced a large number of works the importance of which varied; of these it is sufficient here to mention the important Collection des Edits et Ordonnances, which appeared in 1803.

Some time in 1817, or in 1818, Desbarats appears to have transferred the Nouvelle Imprimerie to Thomas Cary, Junior, although he retained his position as the official printer of the King's laws. He had already been producing the *Quebec Mercury* for Thomas Cary, Senior, since 1805, which newspaper made violent warfare upon the *Canadien* of Bédard and

Taschereau.

Much might be said of Lefrançois, of

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

Laurent Bédard, of François Bélanger, and of Flavien Vallerand, who occupied a noteworthy place in the world of typography at the beginning of the 19th century; but with them we would enter upon an epoch which does not properly belong to this resumé. We are now approaching the period when the art of typography in the city of Champlain attained its most magnificent flowering with Augustin Coté, a master printer who would have done honour to any European centre, and, from this time on, we may unhesitatingly leave Quebec printing to follow its glorious destiny.

CHAPTER FOUR

"A beggar's book
Outworths a noble's blood."
Shakespeare: Henry the Eighth, Act I, 1.



CHAPTER FOUR

The Pioneer Stage in the District of Montreal



verything pointed to Quebec, the political centre and the seat of government, as the door through which the art of printing should find its way into the province of Canada; and Brown and Gilmore,

when they decided to emigrate from Philadelphia towards the north in 1764, could not fail to turn their steps first in that direction. None the less natural was it that Montreal should become, and that within a short time, the second stage in this irresistible march of progress. Even at that period, there were indications in the future metropolis of Canada of the astounding future that lay before her as the business centre; already prepared for every kind of activity, she was only waiting for the auspicious moment when she, too, should be dowered with a printing press. This opportunity arrived at length, twelve years later than had been the case in Quebec, in the year 1776.

Printing has therefore been carried on in

Montreal for a century and a half. Looking back across this period, it is both interesting and useful to trace the beginnings of the art in Montreal. As always, those beginnings were beset with difficulties, but they were not without a certain glory also, and their particularly animated story undoubtedly forms one of the finest pages in the annals of Canadian typography.

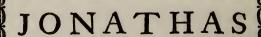
Philadelphia has a double claim to be hailed as the *Alma Parens* of our printing, for in addition to sending Brown and Gilmore to Quebec in 1764, it was she who gave to Montreal her

first printer, Fleury Mesplet.

Born at Lyons, of humble parentage, Mesplet must have learned the rudiments of his trade in one of the numerous printing shops of his native city. He was a simple working man, as ignorant of art as he was of science; he was not a Caxton, nor a Plantin, nor an Aldus Manutius; but as regards the relative quality of his work, he compared favourably with the other pioneers of printing in the various centres of the New World. Nothing is known of his antecedents except that he was operating a workshop in London, in Covent Garden, before he arrived at Philadelphia, from which city he came on to Montreal. During the course of his brief sojourn in England (1773-1774), he managed to issue three pieces of work, of which two, possessing a certain historical interest, are from the pen of the Chevalier de Champigny, whilst the other is merely a collection of anecdotes, in two languages, for the use of schools. It may be assumed that Mesplet's success did not equal his hopes, for he soon began to think of crossing the ocean with his modest possessions, to try his fortune in America. It has been suggested that the idea of utilising Mesplet for French propaganda had occurred to Franklin and that the latter had undertaken to transport him to Philadelphia. It is quite possible that the illustrious printer, who was, in fact, in London in 1773, may have known his more humble confrère and was not ignorant of his decision to go to America, but of this we

have as yet no proof.

However that may be, in 1774 we find Mesplet at Philadelphia, where he rented a workshop and was not very successful in making both ends meet. Meanwhile Congress was dreaming of winning Canada over to become the fourteenth Colony, and drew up a Letter addressed to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec; this was entrusted to the newcomer to set up, he being the only French printer in the country. It may well be that it was this first and most opportune order received from Congress that inspired Mesplet with the idea of once more shifting his Penates and establishing himself finally in Canada, a country where the French language was used. It would be quite wrong to believe that our first printer was only torn from the comforts of Philadelphia and brought to Montreal through the urgent solicitations of Franklin, of Chase, or of



ET

DAVID

O U

LE TRIOMPHE

DE L'AMITIÉ.

TRAGÉDIE

En Trois Acles.

Représentée par les Ecoliers de Montréal.



A MONTREAL:

Chez FLEURY MESPLET & CH. BERGER, Imprimeurs & Libraires, 1776.

A rare copy of a College Drama issued from the press of Fleury Mesplet in 1776, and probably the first printing produced in Canada.

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Carroll, no matter what he himself has said in his various Mémoires. The fact is that at the beginning of 1775, one year before it had occurred to Congress to enter into any arrangement with him, he had already made a trip to Quebec, with the idea of studying on the spot the prospects of a possible printing establishment. He was, however, heavily in debt, the result of the enforced idleness of his printing shop and his own extraordinary carelessness, and it was impossible for him to leave Philadelphia without first getting rid of these embarrassments. It is therefore probable that Mesplet himself, as a far-sighted man, evolved the project of a printing shop for French propaganda in the city of Montreal, which Montgomery had just conquered, and managed to present it adroitly to Congress, with which he had kept in touch with a view to printing a new Letter to the Inhabitants of Canada, and one or two other works. The scheme was certainly plausible and it was finally accepted by Congress. In February, 1776, Mesplet was engaged to go to Canada and conduct a printing shop, and he was given \$200.00 to cover his expenses. It was little enough, and with such small provision for a journey, the needy printer could not have gone very far had he not had the great good fortune to meet at that time the most benevolent of money-lenders, in the person of Charles Berger, a compatriot. This worthy man paid all Mesplet's debts; released his press and type, which had been seized;

and, to enable him to continue his undertaking, even went so far as to form a partnership with him for which Berger supplied practically all the capital, although he himself was not a printer and was obliged to remain at Philadelphia, far from the scene of the business in which he thus interested himself.

Such an arrangement speaks very well for the persuasive powers of our first Montreal printer, who, if not always a good payer, appears at least to have been always a lucky

borrower.

It is often a long way from the cup to the lips, however, and Mesplet was once more to realize this. In Montreal many vexations awaited the newcomer instead of the sunny future on which he was doubtless counting. After a painful journey occupying nearly six weeks, by way of Albany and Lake Champlain, he only reached his destination on the 6th May, 1776. It does not appear that he could have had time to meet Benjamin Franklin again, since the latter left for the United States five days later; and before Mesplet could have had time to find a suitable place and install his equipment more or less hurriedly, the two other Commissioners, who felt that they were skating on thin ice, had made themselves scarce on the 22nd of the same month. Thus when the American troops finally retired from Montreal on the 10th June, 1776, the unhappy printer who had been engaged by Congress could not have had time to execute even the

smallest piece of work on their account. Worst of all, burdened as he was with his printing press and his household equipment, it was impossible for Mesplet to follow Arnold in his hurried flight. There was nothing for him but to remain and face the music. The situation was certainly anything but pleasant. It was obvious that the English authorities, who were now once more in possession of the city, could not fail to look with disapproval upon this relic of a rebel invasion thus left in their midst. What followed was inevitable. Barely eight days after the departure of the American troops, Fleury Mesplet was arrested as a suspect and cast into prison. On this occasion, however, he was detained only a little more than three weeks. It was probably realised that the unfortunate wretch was not so dangerous as had been believed, and perhaps, too, it was desired to take advantage of this first opportunity that had presented itself of ensuring the presence of a printing press in Montreal. After his release, it took Mesplet some time to get on to his feet again. Upon his arrival, he had found premises after a few days, not in the basement of the Château de Ramezay, as has often been stated, but somewhere on the Rue Capitale, not far from the Place du Vieux-Marché. He lacked, however, almost everything that he needed in his work, especially paper; the culminating point in his misfortune seemed to be reached when he was deserted by the assistants whom he had brought with him, and who were discouraged by the tribulations which seemed to surround their patron. In spite of all these difficulties, however, Mesplet managed to open his workshop, and during the remaining six months of the same year, 1776, he succeeded in issuing four publications.

It appears to be the consensus of opinion that the first book which issued from Mesplet's presses in Montreal is the Règlement de la Confrérie de l'Adoration perpétuelle du Saint-Sacrement et de la Bonne Mort, which is dated 1776. There is another edition in existence of the same little work which bears no date and is certainly earlier, for the one dated Montreal, 1776, bears the express statement: Nouvelle édition. The majority of bibliographers, and especially Mr. R. W. McLachlan, believe that the undated edition was printed in Philadelphia, in 1775. We venture to state that this appears to us highly improbable. It is quite true that when Mesplet made his trip to Quebec in January, 1775, he could have gone through Montreal, but it is also a fact that he was not at all certain that he would set up in our province, and at that time he was not counting upon the American Congress to assist him. Why would the Gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice, for whose account it is certain that the first edition of the Règlement was printed, have entrusted this work to a visiting printer who resided in Philadelphia, at a time when the question of his establishing himself in Montreal fairly soon was still highly problematical?

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On the other hand, there is every reason for believing that the undated edition of the Règlement de la Confrérie de l' Adoration perpétuelle is merely a first pull which was made by Mesplet at Montreal shortly after his first imprisonment. The issue of another edition in the same year might be explained by the fact that he had printed only a very few copies of the first

by way of experiment.

It is not even absolutely certain that the famous Règlement, in either its first or its second edition, was the first printing in Montreal. If we should ever unearth the Day Book of Mesplet, as we have fortunately been able to procure that of Brown and Gilmore at Quebec, we might perhaps discover that this honour belongs to the college drama, entitled Jonathas et David, which also was printed at Montreal in 1776. This little piece is not a Canadian work, as Mr. McLachlan believed; the author was a Jesuit in the 18th century, Father Desbillons. Doubtless it was presented at Montreal College at the time at which representations of this sort are usually given, that is to say, towards the end of the scholastic year, at the distribution of prizes, about the end of June or the beginning of July, 1776. If this booklet had been printed for that occasion, it must have been the first printed by Mesplet, who was released from prison only on the 18th of June of that year and had not previously enjoyed the luxury of running his workshop. We freely admit that this is only conjecture on

GAZETTE

LITTE

Pour la Ville & District

RAIRE,

de MONTREAL.

14 OCTOBRE.

SUITE. VOLTAIRE.

MERCREDI,

Autre Portrait par Mr de la B.*

Transportons-nous dans le XIXme fiecle. & prêtons l'ore-lle., Cet homme avoit tout ce qu'il faut pour la réputation la plus étendue; (l'esprit de tout le mondes, & de cet e sprit plus que personne) mais il n'avoit pount ce qu'il a rend durable, le génie. Il a beaucoup plus & plant moins aupourd'hui, parce qu'il est plei plus que personne) mais il n'avoit pount ce qu'il a rend durable, le génie. Il a beaucoup plus & plant moins aupourd'hui, parce qu'il est plei plus de beautés pi pulaires. Tout ce qu'il voit il le faitre & se se le ceup d'œil. Cette abondance d'images pour pe ndre le même objet, cette variété de tours, et luxe d'elocution, ne sont que des essent proposes à masquer la pileur des pensies & la scheresse de la sont fonds. Il ne chotit pas toujours l'expression la plus propre, & manque rarement la plus brillante. Il at lart de rapprocher les extremes, & de surprendre ne les s'assint contraster avec force, harmonte & brieveté. Mais son imag nation ne vit que de celle d'autrui. Le vetts situ appartent toujours l'image gamas. Il nuits à ses talens en se répandant sur out les genres. Il y chercha la sécondit & la vér-te, qui ne se troue que dans la sorce & dans la justelle d'e prit. Il sentit que les qualités lui manquoient, delà ces stots de blie contre tout ceux à que elles ne manquoient pas. Il étonna par un air d'indépendance & de nouveauté un peup e qui commençoit enfin à le lasser de la montonie & de l'esclavage de ses idées, & ce peuple prit pour génèce qui contrator plagiat chez les Anglois, tantôt imprudence, quelquessor delire, souverages ne lui peup e qui commençoit enfin à le lasser de la montonie & de l'esclavage de ses dées, & ce peuple prit pour génèce qui contrator plagiat chez les Anglois, tantôt imprudence, quelquessor delire, souverage ne lui peup e qui commençoit enfin à le lasser de la montonie & de l'esclavage de ses déces, de pour que contre que de contre coutoient. Dans la Philosophie, absurde ; dans la vérité superficielle embellhe, Ses Ouverages ne lui advoit dans le peur que an

"c'est que ses écrits exhalent par tout le passum de
"l'humanité. Mais entre Voltaire & un certain Homme
du même siecle, il y a la même disférence qu'entre
l'ingénieux Patercule & le prosond Tacite: qu'entre
ce mot du premier: combien de fois m'avons-nous pas
; we l'ibre é'asseir parmi les Présens! Burean le
peuplé qui vois son juge dans son maître! Et ce mot
du second · Tibere se plaçois quelquessis à la pointe
du Tribunal du Présenu: mais tandis qu'en pourveyois
à la justice, on corrompoista liberté. ;

RELATION IMPORTANTE de la Communion de M. de Voltaire dans l'Eglife Paroiffale de Ferney. Sennon préché par M. de Voltaire après s'à Communion Commerce de Leitres à ce signe entre bL l'Evêque d'Anney & M. de Voltaire. Sommation, Déclaration, Projession de Fos, Communion de M. de Voltaire, & autres Pieces curieuses, le tout fait par devant Notaire & Timoiss,

Toutes les Gazettes ont retenti des Communions de M. de Valtaire en 1768 & 1769, Il avoit lui même écrit aux Gazetiers pour qu'on les annonêt; è il avoit de bonnes raisons pour cela. Nous voudrions de tout notre cœur pouvou le s'éluciter sur la sincerité des démarches chretennes qu'il sit au mois d'Avril 1768; mais par malheur, la charné la plus indulgente asuroit ajouter toi aux démonstrations extérieures qu'il crut devoir donner au Public, dont l'indignation ctoit alors à son comble. Elles sont si intuffantes, & de plus M d'Annew, son Evêque, parur si peu persuadé de la droiture de ses intentions, que nous croyons devoir nous en tenir à son avis. Ce Prélat ayant appris qu'il avoit communie le jour de Pâques dans l'Eglise Parois faile de Ferney, & qu'il avoit, après sa Communion, sat un Discours au Peuple sur les larcins & sur le vol, qu'errivit, le 11 Avril 1768, une Lettre où il déploya tout le zele & toute la modération d'un Passeur au désroit que sa conversion sur sissoit connoître combiens adéroit que sa conversion sur sissoit devoit prendre pour faire revenir sur son compte les personnes qui avoient été plus scandalisées qu'échées de sa Communion, qu'il auroit du, discit il, aire précéder & suivre de quelques circonslances plus édifiantes.

A reproduction of the front page of the *Montreal Gazette* as it appeared in the first year of its publication, 1778.

our part, since it is quite possible that the work was not printed until after it had been played, in order to perpetuate in some manner

the success that it might have attained.

This is not, however, the only obscure point still to be cleared up in the history of the beginnings of Montreal printing. What, for instance, is the explanation of the fact that the Cantiques de l'Ame dévote, which also appeared in 1776, was published in Quebec, if we are to believe the title page? The only sojourn of Mesplet in Quebec which can be traced was the visit that he paid at the beginning of 1775, when he had neither a printing press nor type; and it does not appear that he could have been able, any time in 1776, to transport to that city sufficient equipment to be able to print the Cantiques de Marseilles, a volume of 610 pages, which is one of the most ambitious works upon which he ventured during the whole of his career. It would seem to have been merely a whim of the printer, who indicated thereby that he would not limit himself to Montreal as a field for operations, but would include the Capital also.

In 1777 food for Mesplet's press still came principally from religious institutions, with which he had never ceased to maintain good relations, in spite of the reputation of a free-thinker that was attributed to him. Out of the seven works which he is known to have printed during that year, six are purely pious books: catechisms, prayer books, devout exercises.

The most sought-after, if not the most interesting of all these, is a little book of sixteen pages, the *Iontri8aiestak8a ionskaneks*, the first that was ever printed in Canada in the Iroquois

tongue.

In the same year, 1777, Mesplet began the production of his Almanach curieux et intéressant, the series of which was to be carried on until 1785 with but a single interruption, in 1780. These Almanachs Mesplet, which were the forerunners of the Almanachs Neilson, are perhaps curious, but they are scarcely interesting, in spite of their title; to tell the truth, their sole claim to the attention of collectors is

their very great rarity.

The year 1778 brought to Fleury Mesplet at last the realisation of a dream which he had cherished ever since his arrival in America: the production of a newspaper. For two years he had been awaiting the appearance of a substitute for Pochard, a literary man whom he had brought with him from Philadelphia with this end in view, but who had fled before the accumulation of troubles in their early days. He believed that he had discovered such an one in the person of Valentin Jautard, another French émigré, who had some claims to education and who prided himself on his literary ability. Strengthened by this valuable support, on the 3rd June, 1778, Mesplet launched the first number of his Gazette du Commerce et littéraire. This was at first a very mild publication, the four little quarto pages of which were filled

with laborious studies, more or less philosophical and literary, and served chiefly as an outlet for would-be writers and even for the young students at the College. For the first months it contained nothing that could arouse the slightest feeling of alarm in even the touchiest authorities. The editor, however, Valentin Jautard, was not the man to adhere very long to the path of prudence. Addicted as a lawyer to fault-finding and quibbling, he began by ventilating some of his own personal quarrels in the newspaper which had been entrusted to him; and, in order to strike at his enemies even in high positions, he launched attacks against the Government, veiled at first, but becoming more open. In pursuance of his aim, he drew Fleury gradually along a path which was bound to lead them both to the damp straw of a prison cell. Their first punishment took the form of a suspension of their newspaper, which was cancelled only after a petition had been prepared by a number of citizens of Montreal, who were alarmed at the prospect of losing their solitary newspaper. This fate overtook them later, when the Gazette littéraire, as it was then called, finally perished beneath the burden of an article even more suggestive than its predecessors—that very article which, on the authority of an inaccurate phrase in the inaccurate Memoirs of Pierre Laterrière, was for a long time believed to have been a separate newspaper printed in Montreal, because of the title that it bore: Tant pis, tant mieux. Not only was

their paper suppressed on the very eve of its first anniversary, the 2nd June, 1779, but both proprietor and editor were arrested and cast into prison in Quebec. There they both languished for more than three years, in spite of repeated applications and petitions to the Governor Haldimand. It was not until the 1st September, 1782, that Mesplet was able to escape, apparently with the tacit connivance of the authorities, and to return to Montreal unmolested.

Meanwhile, what had happened to his workshop during these three years of incarceration of the master-printer? Mr. McLachlan knew of but one work that bore the name of Fleury Mesplet during that period: A Primer for the Use of Mohawk Children; and as official documents indicate that this work was prepared, through the efforts of Colonel Claus, on behalf of the Iroquois Indians and at the expense of the Government, he came to the conclusion that Mesplet's press, which was seized at the time of his arrest, was used only for this one purpose under official instructions. Mr. Mc-Lachlan, however, at the time when he issued his valuable work on the beginnings of printing in Montreal, was unaware of the fact that at least two other publications came from Fleury Mesplet's press during the proprietor's imprisonment, the Almanach for 1781 and that for 1782. These two publications possessed no interest whatever for the Government and could not have been issued with their authority, from

which we may safely conclude that Mesplet's press continued to function, between 1779 and 1782, to handle at least the current work, through the medium of some one employed and directed more or less effectively by the

wife of the prisoner.

After his return, Mesplet published only two or three works of no particular importance until the 25th August, 1785, when he thought that his escapades had dropped sufficiently into oblivion to permit of his resuscitating his beloved paper under the name of the Gazette de Montréal. It is this same newspaper which, after being produced first in French only, then during a certain number of years in both languages, is still appearing daily under the name of the Montreal Gazette. The paper in its new form was devoted almost entirely to the publication of official proclamations and judicial or commercial announcements, and the only troubles that lay across its path henceforward were of a financial kind. Mesplet, indeed, was in needy circumstances right to the end of his life. In spite of numerous petitions, he was unable to obtain from the American Congress more than a small portion of the compensation which he claimed for his services during the invasion of 1775, and he went on piling up debts continually; he was frequently exposed to constraints, and from 1785, when he resumed production of his paper, he was no longer the owner of his printing shop, which was leased to him by Edward William Gray,

THE

MANUAL EXERCISE,

WITH

EXPLANATIONS,

As Ordered by

His MAJESTY.

The Second Edition.



MONTREAL;

Printed by FLEURY MESPLET, M. DCC. LXXXVIII

A Manual Exercise Book printed by the first printer in Montreal in 1788, a few years before the close of his career. the new owner. In spite of all difficulties, however, Mesplet yet found means to publish a number of works before his death, of which we may mention as especially noteworthy, Dr. Jones' Remarks on the Distemper known as Molbay Disease, in 1786; the voluminous translation by Jos.-Frs. Perrault of the Juge à Paix by Burns, in 1789; and La Bastille Septentrio-

nale, in 1791.

On the 28th January, 1794, Montreal's first printer closed his stormy career at the comparatively early age of sixty. It cannot be said that he had managed his own affairs efficiently, but he was a craftsman of remarkable energy and an uncommon order of courage, and we shall always owe to Mesplet a debt of gratitude in that it was he who definitely laid the foundations of printing in the metropolis of Canada, during twenty years of persevering struggle against almost overwhelming difficulties. In his private life, too, it would be wrong to believe him as black as he has been painted by his companion in the prison-cell, the unspeakable Laterrière, in his untruthful Memoirs. The least that could be said of Mesplet is that he was certainly as good as the man who maligned him so outrageously, both as regards his character and his sense of honour.

A successor to Fleury Mesplet in the printing art was promptly forthcoming in the person of Edward Edwards, who purchased at an auction all the type and equipment of the deceased printer. There was, however, an interval during which publication of the Gazette de Montréal was compulsorily suspended. After the death of its founder, a few numbers only appeared, under the name of the widow, Marie-Anna Tison.

A little over a year had elapsed before Edwards resumed publication, on the 3rd August, 1795, and simultaneously a contemporary, Louis Roy, who had been the first King's Printer in the new province of Upper Canada, also began to issue a newspaper with exactly the same title and with exactly the

same outward appearance.

For more than a year, therefore, from August, 1795, until the end of September, 1796, there were two Gazette de Montréal competing for subscribers. It was Louis Roy who at last gave way; apart from his newspaper, we know of only a single Montreal printing of his, a Grammaire latine for the use of the Montreal College, and we find no further traces of him in Montreal after 1796. Edwards remained in sole possession of the field, and in addition to issuing his periodical, he began to print some small works; but from 1801 until the time of his death about 1810, no one has been able to find any book or pamphlet issued under his name, and it would seem as if he had devoted the whole of his attention to the Gazette de Montréal. This inertia on the part of the only Montreal printer at that time was not, perhaps, unconnected with the simultaneous entrance on the scene of two new printers in 1807.

We refer to Nahum Mower and James Brown, both of whom enjoyed long careers and left upon the annals of their noble profession an

equally profound mark.

Nahum Mower was born at Worcester, in Massachusetts, about 1779, and appears to have first practised his art in the State of Vermont. We find him at Montreal for the first time in 1807, when, following the usual desire of all the printers of old, he made his first appearance with the publication of the Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser, a paper which carried a certain amount of weight and which persisted until 1834. It was not long before his workshop was busily employed, if we may judge by the number of works which bear his name, starting from the year 1807. He died at Montreal on the 8th March, 1830, after having handed over to others his Canadian Courant, where we read in the issue of the 6th June, 1829, the touching farewell which he addressed to his patrons, evidently recognizing the close approach of death.

James Brown was born at Glasgow, in Scotland, about the year 1776. Having been brought to Quebec as a young lad, he appears to have moved to Montreal in the early years of the 19th century, for we find him conducting a book-shop in that city from 1804 onwards. In 1807, when Nahum Mower was launching his *Canadian Courant*, we find James Brown printing a bilingual paper, the *Canadian Gazette*, on the orders of Charles Brown, who

TREATY

O F

Amity, Commerce and Navigation,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY,

AND THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY THEIR PRESIDENT, WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THEIR SENATE.



MONTREAL,

Printed by E. EDWARDS,

NO. 10 St. Vincent Street.

1795.

One of the small works from the press of Edward Edwards, who succeeded Fleury Mesplet in the publication of the *Montreal Gazette*.

was probably his own brother. He was not very lucky in this first undertaking, for the new paper only appeared in a few numbers; but he was able to attain better success, and to put forward a formidable competition against his rival, Mower, when he acquired the Montreal Gazette on the death of Edwards, in 1810. He continued to print this paper for fifteen years, but in 1825 he turned it over to Thomas Andrew Turner, probably with the idea of devoting his whole attention to the operation of a paper mill which he had established at Saint-André d'Argenteuil in 1806, and which may well have been the first of its kind in Canada. Brown died on the 23rd May, 1845, at the age of seventy.

We cannot undertake to mention even the most important works that issued from the presses of James Brown and Nahum Mower, for they are too numerous, the art of printing having begun to spread its wings in Montreal with these two men. It may be noted, however, that Mower appeared to be the favourite printer of the Protestant clergy, whilst James Brown, if we may judge from the large number of works in the French language printed by him, had managed to monopolize the opposing

clientele.

Brown appears to have been absorbed in other matters after 1813 and did not give much time to the publishing. We know of only two or three works which issued from his printing presses after that date until 1820. This did

not mean, however, that Nahum Mower was left without competition, for a new and active printer had appeared upon the arena in 1811, in the person of William Gray. Following the usual custom, the latter made his debut with a newspaper, the *Montreal Herald*, and displayed considerable energy. His workshop rose rapidly in importance, and we owe to him some of the most valuable printing done between 1811 and 1820, amongst others the *Papers of Nerva*, which may be counted one of the

most interesting.

Following in the footsteps of Brown, of Mower, and of Gray, through the ever-widening doorway of progress, came an invasion of new printers, who continued to cultivate the field so painfully sown by their courageous predecessors, all of whom contributed more or less towards the growth of the abundant harvest which we reap to-day. We may mention Charles Bernard Pasteur, who founded the Spectateur Canadien in 1813, and who was to print, in 1820, the celebrated Voyages of Franchère; James Lane, who, having first associated for some time with Ariel Bowman, afterwards carried on his printing shop alone, and to whom we owe, amongst other interesting productions, the first *Directory* of Montreal in 1819; John Quilliam, especially well-known through his Gazette Canadienne; and, finally, Victor Delorme, who printed Michel Bibaud's L'Aurore.

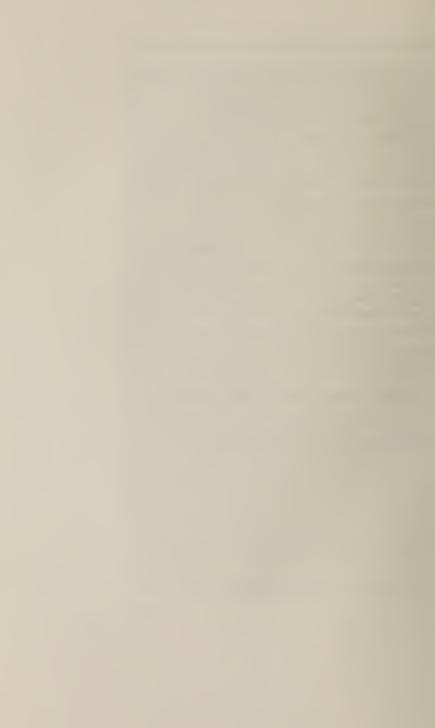
With these leaders the art of printing may

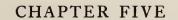
The Introduction of Printing into Canada

be said to have passed out of the pioneer stage. Doubtless those who followed shortly after—Armour, Campbell, Becket, Duvernay and Perrault — might still be considered as ancestors of the profession, but they cannot properly be said to belong to the period of its beginnings; that epoch was certainly closed with the first quarter of the 19th century, and in their time the typographic art in Montreal had

definitely risen from the beaten track.

Once again we find ourselves compelled to halt at the threshold of what may be called the flowering period of Montreal printing art. We must leave it to others to retrace the later stages by which it passed before attaining that prosperity and that honour which distinguishes it to-day. Our object is only to ensure the preservation from oblivion of the earliest days of what is, perhaps, the most precious of our industries, and to pay a well-merited tribute of homage and of gratitude to those first workers who, with labours that were as thankless as they were meritorious, so valiantly prepared the way for its present success.





God be thanked for Books. They are the voices of the distant and the dead, and make us the heirs of the spiritual life of past ages. Books are the true levellers. They give to all, who will faithfully use them, the society, the spiritual presence of the best and greatest of our race.

William Ellery Channing: Self Culture.



CHAPTER FIVE

The Early Progress of Printing in the Province of Ontario



appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada, which had been established by the Constitutional Act of 1791, one of his first concerns was to take

out with him a printing press. This enlightened administrator recognized in the art of printing not only a means for spreading civilization, but also an instrument of government. The persistence with which he reverted to the subject in his official correspondence during the early days of his office indicated the importance

with which he regarded it.

About the 12th August, 1791, whilst still in England, before taking up his official duties, he wrote to the Minister Dundas as follows: "I have a proper person who has offered himself to go as printer provided he has a salary. The office of Printer seems to be of the utmost importance. It has been suggested to me that by annexing the office of Postmaster to that of

Printer, a sufficient salary may be annexed to induce some person to expatriate. I submit this, Sir, to your consideration. But a printer is indispensably necessary, and tho' many may be found to rush into crowded cities, I see no likelihood that any person will venture into a wilderness, and yet in the infancy of this establishment he will be found of the utmost utility."

Doubtless because he could not succeed in convincing the metropolitan authority, who was both parsimonious and close-fisted, Simcoe did not take out from England with him this rara avis which he flattered himself he would be able to entice from its nest. Nevertheless he continued the struggle, and never for an instant abandoned his project. He remained in Quebec a long time, from November, 1791, to June, 1792, before going to assume office, and whilst there, must have had plenty of opportunity to discuss his scheme with Samuel Neilson, the master-printer. It was, indeed, in Neilson's printing-shop, and most probably with Neilson's assistance, that Simcoe finally came across the printer of courage and experience whom he required in order to give substance to his dream. This enterprising pioneer, to whom belongs the honour of having been the first printer in Upper Canada, was Louis Roy. A French-Canadian by birth, he came from a respectable working family and two of his brothers have stamped their names with his on the annals of Canadian printing, Joseph-Marie and Charles-François, the latter, who published

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

the newspaper "Le Canadien," being especially notable.

It is not possible to fix the exact date at which Louis Roy set up his establishment in the new capital of Upper Canada, Newark, which to-day is Niagara. It must have been towards the end of the year 1792; but he was compelled to make all his arrangements under particularly trying circumstances, and even to await the arrival of equipment that was expressly imported from England. There is no evidence to indicate that the first Ontario printing press was ready to function before

April of the year following.

The question has been raised many times as to whether the Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle was in reality the first piece of printing which came from the presses of Louis Roy, when it appeared on April 18th, 1793, as it is generally believed to be. Mr. W. S. Wallace has opened up the question again quite recently, in the Canadian Historical Review of December, 1929. He claims priority for an eightpage pamphlet, previously unknown, of which a single copy has been discovered in the library of Toronto University. The following inscription appears at the foot of the title-page: Upper Canada, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793. The Upper Canada Gazette, which first appeared in April, 1793, makes no allusion whatever to the pamphlet in question, in which are included two discourses of John G. Simcoe, one delivered at the opening of the first session of the first Parliament, on September 17th, and the other at the close of the same session, on October 15th, 1792. From this fact Mr. Wallace draws the conclusion that the double document had been printed at a still earlier date, and should therefore be considered as the earliest product of an Ontario printing press, at least until further evidence is traced.

Is there any reason why we should not, in our turn, make a similar claim to priority, based on almost identical grounds, in favour of yet another publication the existence of which could not have been known to Mr. Wallace? We refer to an eight-page quarto pamphlet, entitled, The Acts of the Legislature of Upper Canada . . . passed in the first session, which, like the Speech of John G. Simcoe, was printed in 1793, and of which there would appear to be but one copy in existence. This copy is preserved in the Library of Saint-Sulpice in Montreal. The Upper Canada Gazette makes no reference whatever to the publication of these first Acts of the Parliament.

To this last-named eight-page pamphlet, which comprised the 8 Acts passed by the first session of the Parliament of Upper Canada, there is annexed, or rather stitched, another pamphlet of 46 pages, equally rare and which contains the Acts of the second session of the same Parliament. Now the Acts of the second session bear the same imprint as does the Speech of John G. Simcoe: Upper Canada, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793; but the Acts

of the first session bear a different imprint: Newark, Printed by Louis Roy, 1793. This single variation is sufficient to establish the fact that we have before us two distinct pieces of printing, and it is evident that the one that came first was the Acts of the first session.

It might be safe to conclude from this evidence that at least the first of these two documents, which is in the Library of Saint-Sulpice, is of earlier date than the Speech of John G. Simcoe; but we are not justified in deciding that either of these, or the pamphlet recently discovered in Toronto, actually preceded the

printing of the Upper Canada Gazette.

It must be remembered that when Louis Rov arrived at Newark, towards the end of 1792, to make preparations for opening his printery, he had no equipment whatever with him. It might well be that Samuel Neilson, of Quebec, would be able to lend one of his skilled workmen to the sister Province, but at the date he had not himself progressed sufficiently to be in a position to spare from his own equipment the tools necessary to furnish another printing shop. At about the time when he was already employing Roy, in the latter part of the year 1792, Simcoe was obliged to get Fleury Mesplet to print in Montreal his proclamation dividing Upper Canada into counties and townships.

It appears from a document now in the Archives at Ottawa, that it was only in November, 1792, that the Government of Upper

Acts of the Legislature

OF HIS MAJESTY'S PROVINCE OF

Upper Canada,

Passed in the First Session, and in the Thirty Second Year of the Reign of OUR SOVEREIGN LORD

GEORGE THE THIRD.

CAP. I.

AN ACT to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled an Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America; and to introduce the English Law, as the Role of Decision in all Matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights.

HEREAS by an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of his present Majefty, entitled an Act for making more essection of the Province of Quebec in North America, it was among other things provided.

"That in all Matters of Controverly relative to Property and Civil Rights, refort should be had to the Laws of Canada as the Rule for the Decision of the same;" such Provision being manifessly and avowedly intended for the accomodation of His Majessy's Canadian Subjess: And whereas since the passing of the Act aforesaid, that part of the sate Province of Quebec, now comprehended within the Province of Upper Canada, having become inhabited principally by British Subjests, born and educated in Countries where the English Laws were established, and who are unacustomed to the Laws of Canada, it is inexpedient that the Provision aforesaid contained in the said Act of the Fourteenth Year of his present Majesty, should be continued in this Province; Beit enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Astembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the Authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, entitled an Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled an Act for making more effectual Provisions for the Government of the Frovince of Quebec, in North America, and to make surther Provision for the Government of the said Province, and by the Authority of the fame, that from and after the passing of this Act, the said Province, and by the Authority of the fame, that from and after the passing of this Act, the said Province, and the Authority of the faid Laws of Canada, and every part thereof, as somming a Rule of Decision in all matters of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, shall be annulled, made void, and abolished throughout this Province; and that the said Laws, nor any part thereof, as such, shall be of any force or autho

Front page of an eight-page pamphlet printed in 1793 by Louis Roy, who first held the office of King's Printer in Upper Canada.

Acts of the Legislature of Upper Canada.

XIV. Provided always, that no Licence shall be granted for retailing any Spirituous Liquors, within any of the said Gaols or Prisons, and if any Gaoler, Keeper or Officer of any Gaol or Prison shall fell, use, lend, or give away, or knowingly permit, or suffer any Spirituous Liquors or Strong Water, to be fold, used, lent, or given away in such Gaol or Prison, or brought into the same, other than except such Spirituous Liquors or Strong Waters, as shall be prescribed or given by the prescription and direction of a regular Physician, Surgeon or Apothecary; every such Gaoler, Keeper or other Officer, shall for every such offence forfeit and lose the sum of Twenty-Pounds Current Money of this Province, one moiety thereof to his Majesty his Heirs and Successors for the Public uses of the said sum with full costs of suit to the person or persons as will sue for the same in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record in this Province by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, and in case any such Gaoler or other Officer being convicted thereof as aforesaid, shall again offend in like manner, and be thereof a second time lawfully convicted, such second offence shall be deemed a forfeiture of his Office.

XV. Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Justices at their Quarter Sessions assembled as aforesaid or the greater part of them, to frame and draw up such Rules and Regulations to be observed and obeyed within the said Gaol, respectively as to them shall seem most proper and convenient, which having received the approbation and signature of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, shall be binding on the Gaoler and

Prisoners..

XVI. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforefaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Justices within the respective limits of their Commissions, assembled as aforefaid, or the greater part of them, and they are hereby Authorized and empowered, to ascertain and appoint a reasonable Yearly Salary according to their discretion to be paid to the Gaoler, and that the said Salary shall be in place of all Fees, perquisites or impositions of any fort or kind whatever, and that it shall not be lawful for the said Gaoler or Officer belonging to the said Gaol, to demand or receive any see, perquisite or other payment from any Priloner who may be confined within any of the said Gaols or Prilons.

FINIS.



NEWARK: Printed by Louis Roy, 1793

Last page of the eight-page pamphlet as shown on page 120, showing the Imprint of Louis Roy as Newark, 1793.

Canada placed an order in London for even the type required by its new printer. In addition to a supply of paper and a varied assortment of type suitable for headings and title-pages, the Government purchased a series of type faces, both in Roman and Italic, comprising Brevier, Long Primer, Small Pica, Pica, Great Primer, and Double Pica. This relatively large order is an indication of their intention to provide the necessary materials for the publication of Newspapers, Pamphlets, etc., as all these fonts would be suitable for that purpose.

It is to be noted that November, 1792, was the date when the last ships left for England, and it would not be possible for the printer to receive the type and the paper for which he was waiting until the following spring, on the re-opening of navigation. It is, therefore, improbable that Louis Roy would have been in a position to print anything of importance before the month of April, 1793, that is to say, before the appearance of the first number of the Upper Canada Gazette. It is, moreover, quite clear from John G. Simcoe's correspondence, that one of his first objects was the publication of a newspaper. The printer would therefore devote all his energies to this end. Another point to bear in mind is that there was no special need to print immediately the speeches of Simcoe. The official correspondence proves that a manuscript copy had been sent to the Secretariat in London in November, 1792; and when the time came to issue his opening address of the second session, delivered on May 31st, 1793, the Lieutenant-Governor contented himself with sending the text, on June 17th following, which had just been published by the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Thus there is every reason for believing that Louis Roy printed the Acts of the Legislature and the Speech of John G. Simcoe only in the latter months of 1793, after he had got his printing-shop into full operation, and after he had himself devoted his attention first of all to the *Gazette*, his most im-

portant production.

Obviously, this is but conjecture, yet with the information at present at our disposal it is hardly possible to be more positive. There are, indeed, few historical events whose beginnings are wrapped in greater obscurity than is the case with the first Ontario printing. As recently as 1886, in his Canadian Archaeology, which is one of our first and one of our most remarkable bibliographical essays, Mr. William Kingsford admitted that, in spite of his careful research, he had been able to discover, aside from newspapers or statutory publications, only a single piece of printing in Upper Canada of earlier date than the History of the War of 1812, produced at Kingston, in 1832, by David Thompson. It was not long, however, before Mr. Kingsford obtained additional information, thanks to the fact that his first book had the merit of arousing the attention of other bibliographers. About 1892, only six years after his first publication, he was able to

include in a second book, The Early Bibliography of Ontario, more than thirty-three works printed at an earlier date than David Thompson's History. Nevertheless, he was unable to carry back further than 1814, and although the progress to which he had contributed was thus considerable, he was still a long way from his goal. It is only by stages that we usually arrive at full knowledge, and this has proved true of the beginnings of Ontario printing. Each day we raise a little higher the veil behind which it is hidden; and there is ground for believing that as old family papers are searched, and with the assistance of such fortunate discoveries as that recently made by Mr. W. S. Wallace, we are drawing ever closer to the time when the shadows in which it is still concealed may gradually be wholly dissipated.

The only works produced by Louis Roy, the first printer of Upper Canada, of which we have knowledge, are the ones already mentioned: the Upper Canada Gazette, the Speech of John G. Simcoe, and the Acts of the Legislature. It is known that he remained but a short time at Newark. By the end of 1794 he had already resigned his office as printer to the Government of Upper Canada. It is quite probable that he was discouraged by the difficulties of the task which he had assumed; but also it is not impossible that Roy had failed to come up to the expectations of those who had engaged his services. This, at least, seems to be suggested in the following passage in Lady Simcoe's

Journal, written at the period when the first number of the *Upper Canada Gazette* appeared, on April 18th, 1793: "A newspaper is published here . . . The only printer to be met with was a Frenchman named Louis Roy, and he

cannot write good English."

We have noted already that Louis Roy removed from Newark to Montreal to establish there, in 1795, the Gazette de Montréal concurrently with another newspaper, bearing the same title, which Mesplet had founded and which was still being published. Again, however, he failed to attain success in his undertaking, was obliged to leave Montreal, and, after long and varied wanderings, he finally came to New York, where he carried on his trade as printer until the time of his death in

that city.

Roy was succeeded at Newark by Gideon Tiffany, who continued to publish the Gazette, after a brief interval. The new printer appears to have cherished ambitious dreams at one stage in his career. At the beginning of the year 1796, he presented to the Governor a project to publish a Monthly Magazine; in a letter dated February 25th of the same year, however, John Simcoe's military secretary, Major Littlehales, curtly informed him that so much was not expected of him, and that if the Gazette were not sufficient to occupy his entire attention, the printing of the laws would be better appreciated than would the production of a magazine. That Tiffany, despite his zeal,

STATUTES OF HIS MAJESTY'S PROVINCE OF UPPER-CANADA.

Enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the said Province, Constituted and Assembled by virtue of and under the Authority of an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, passed in the Thirty-First Year-of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third, intituled, "An Act to Repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of "His Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for making more Effectual Provision for the "Government of the Province of Quebec, in North-America; and to make further Provision for the Government of the said Province."



YORK:

PRINTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY AND BY COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY PETER HUNTER ESQUIRE, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA, AND LIEUTENANT GENERAL COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—BY JOHN BENNETT, PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

—1802.—

The title page of *The Statutes of Upper Canada*, printed by John Bennett in 1802, and containing 223 pages.

was not quite the man of whom Simcoe had dreamed seems to be suggested by the following passage in a letter addressed to London by the Lieutenant-Governor, on February 16, 1795: "I regret that my original request for a loyal and respectable printer has not been complied with." It is impossible for us to say at this date whether Tiffany of his own free will gave up his position or whether it was the Government that decided that his services were no longer valuable. All we know is that about the month of September, 1797, he was superseded, not as Printer to the Government, for that title had not yet been created, but as printer of the Gazette. During the intervening period he had printed, in addition to certain proclamations, the Acts and also the Journal of the 5th session of the first Parliament. Tiffany reappears later at Niagara, where for some time he continued to exercise his art as a printer. either alone or in connection with his brother Sylvester.

Titus Geer Simons succeeded Gideon Tiffany as the third printer of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. He worked for a short time only at West Niagara, as Newark was already beginning to be called. In October, 1798, about one year after assuming office, he seems to have removed to York, the Toronto of later days, which had just been definitely selected as the capital of the Province. Two months earlier, he had entered into partnership with William Waters, and it was under their joint control

that the publication of the Gazette was carried on at York until about 1801. At first, however, the only title officially bestowed upon Waters and Simons was that of printers of the Upper Canada Gazette, in which manner their predecessors had also been designated. It appears to have been about the middle of the year 1799, that they were at last raised to the dignity of Printers to His Majesty. Indeed, we find in the Journal of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada of June 28th, 1799, that Sylvester Tiffany had petitioned to be employed to print the Journals of the Chamber and the Provincial Statutes, and had been informed by the Executive that other parties had already been entrusted with the work of producing the public documents. The parties referred to were evidently William Waters and Titus G. Simons, who figure for the first time, at the end of a proclamation dated September 24th, 1799, as "Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."

Unfortunately, it is but a short distance from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock, a fact which the partners thus newly promoted were soon painfully to realize. In the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, we learn that on April 22nd, 1801, a deputy, Mr. Allan, complained of an article in the Gazette which, he said, was calculated to injure him; the Department recommended that the printers should be discharged and that another should be appointed Printer to the King. It was in

vain that Waters and Simons a few days later admitted their fault and sued for pardon. They were irrevocably condemned. A new printer appeared upon the scene in the person of John Bennett.

Louis Roy, who first held the office of King's Printer, was succeeded by John Bennett, both having worked for a long time in the employment of the master-printer of Quebec, Neilson. Before setting up at York, Bennett left the Quebec printing-shop for a few months in 1797, when he went to Montreal to launch, in partnership with Joseph-Marie Roy, a commercial venture, which, however, did not prove successful. At York he demonstrated his patience and perseverance, for he worked there for nearly seven years. On July 18th, 1801, he took up the reins of management of the Upper Canada Gazette, with an address to the public which evinced his strong determination to push forward actively. It is indeed obvious that John Bennett not only proved himself superior to those who had gone before him, but he displayed a spirit of efficiency truly noteworthy for the period in which he worked. About 1802 he was able to publish a collection of the Statutes of Upper Canada from the first Parliament, a work of 223 quarto pages, the most important that had yet been attempted in the new Province. He carried his enterprising energy to the extent of printing in two successive years, 1803 and 1804, an almanack of Upper Canada, which compared not unfavourably

with the one that his master, Neilson, had already produced in Quebec. In addition to the Journals of the Chamber and to the Laws passed each session, which he appears to have printed annually right up to 1806, he also produced, in 1805, the first piece of religious literature with which we are acquainted in Ontario: A Sermon on the nature of Justifica-

tion by the Rev. Robert McDowall.

We must leave John Bennett at York, where he appeared to be thoroughly established, and retrace our steps for a while to Niagara. Although robbed of its prestige as the capital city in 1798, the proud little town did not readily consent to dethronement, and for a time it continued to struggle desperately to keep pace with its growing rival. Thus it was that the Tiffany brothers, as much from local pride as from personal interest, battled on for nearly three years to maintain the art of printing in the city which had witnessed its birth. After working single-handed for some time, Gideon entered into a partnership with his brother Sylvester, and the two believed that they might fill the void created by the removal of the Gazette by launching, in July, 1799, a new newspaper, The Constellation. Evidently they did not receive the support for which they had hoped, for only six months later, in the first weeks of January, 1800, they suspended publication. A year later, with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, they returned to the charge and printed the Niagara Herald, which in its

turn unhappily lasted but a few months, and had ceased to appear by August 28th, 1802. Meanwhile, about 1801, Gideon Tiffany, probably disheartened by the failure of his efforts, had abandoned printing in favour of agriculture and had gone to set up on a farm in the Township of Midland. Sylvester struggled on for a while longer. He even printed in 1802, before John Bennett, what is believed to be the first almanack published in Upper Canada, the one advertised by his brother Gideon in 1796 having failed to appear. At length, however, with the suspension of the Herald in August, 1802, Sylvester Tiffany found himself compelled to go and try his fortune elsewhere, and for the first time since the beginning of printing in Upper Canada, Niagara was left without a printer.

Amongst those who devoted their efforts to filling the void created by the departure of Sylvester Tiffany, we find the name of Andrew Heron, an enterprising merchant of Niagara, whose honoured bones still rest in the old cemetery beside those of his four wives. In this connection, some interest attaches to the following unpublished letter which is in our possession and which Heron wrote to John Neilson, of

Quebec, on October 10th, 1803:-

"When I had the pleasure of seeing you in Quebec, I mentioned to you that I thought this would be a good place for a printer to print a paper and also keep a bookstore... You hinted that you knew of a young man that

THE

UPPER CANADA

ALMANAC,

I 803;

BEING THE SEVENTH AFTER BESEXTILE OR LEAP YEAR;

Calculated for the Meredian of YORK.

Lat. 43° 35' North. . Long. 78° 30' Weft.

Containing Epochs and Common Notes, Chronological Cycles, Moveable Feafts, Rifing and Setting of the Sun, Civil Lift of the Province of Upper Canada, &c. &c. with a variety of ufeful and entertaining matter.



YORK, UPPER CANADA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BENNETT, AT THE PRINTING OFFICE, KING STRTET.

The Upper Canada Almanac, printed by John Bennett in 1803, and which compared favorably with the work of his master, Neilson, at Quebec.

might answer, but you understood that Mr. Tiffany, our former printer, was only going over the river to print within the United States. He is now removed to Canandaigua, a county town in the state of New York, about 150 miles from here, so that what he does there can never interfere with a printer here. I still think that a young man here might do well and be of service to you . . ."

Unfortunately, this appeal was unsuccessful, and it was not until a dozen years had rolled by that Andrew Heron made up his mind himself to take up the printer's trade by producing

the Niagara Gleaner.

In 1803, as a result of the defection of Niagara, John Bennett, the official printer, was the sole representative of the printing trade in Upper Canada. There is no evidence to suggest that Waters and Simons continued to exercise the art for any length of time after their downfall. John Bennett remained in possession of the entire field for about three years, but during the course of the year 1806 he encountered a misfortune which compelled his retirement not long afterwards. He was in course of printing the Laws and the Journals of the Assembly Chamber, for which an amount of £300 had been voted by the Legislature, when the Chief Justice Alcock summoned Bennett to appear before him, and having enquired of him what money he had received for the printing of the Laws and the Journals, declared that it was sheer robbery and that he was determined

to put a stop to it. The Governor himself took up the matter and enquired of Bennett by what authority he had been paid £300 for printing. Bennett's reply was to the effect that it was on orders signed by His Excellency himself, whereupon the Governor declared that the money had been voted for him and for no one else, and he commanded the printer to produce his accounts immediately for examination by the Inspector-General of Public Accounts. As a result of this examination, Bennett soon afterwards received an order to return to the Treasury the sum of £375. In a petition which he subsequently presented to Parliament, Bennett complained bitterly of this decision, by which he was absolutely ruined, and which placed him in a worse condition than he was in when he first arrived. He stated that all he had received from the Government was an annual salary of £100, of which £91 5s. od. went to an assistant, and that as he had employed the sums regularly voted to him by Parliament in the purchase of material, he was unable to meet this totally unexpected demand for reimbursement. We have been unable to trace, either in the Journals of the Chamber, or in the Reports on Public Accounts, the manner in which this difference between the Executive and the Printer to the Government was finally concluded, but there is good reason for believing that it was Bennett who came off worst. It was probably as a result of this financial reverse that he handed in his resignation or was

dismissed from his office as printer about the month of March, 1807. John Cameron was nominated to take his place as Printer to the

King.

John Cameron's first act was to change the name of the Upper Canada Gazette, which now became the York Gazette, and as such appears to have existed until about 1815. Within a month of assuming office, in May, 1808, and doubtless because he was not himself a qualified printer, Cameron decided that he would do well to form a connection with John Bennett, whose place he had just taken. The partnership, however, lasted little more than a year. John Bennett, whose name disappears from the York Gazette in September, 1808, evidently left Upper Canada about that date and probably made his way once more to Quebec to re-enter the service of his former patron, John Neilson. The only information concerning him that we have been able to find is the fact that he died at Quebec, on January 25th, 1824, at the age of fifty-eight.

At about the same time as John Cameron began production of his York Gazette, which was the semi-official organ of the Government, the turmoil of political feeling which raged at the time gave rise to the first Opposition newspaper that had as yet appeared in Upper Canada. This was the Upper Canada Guardian or Freeman's Journal, established in 1807 to support the interests of Judge Thorpe's party, and it was prudently established at

Niagara, on the very edge of the frontier. It was directed by Joseph Willcocks, who later died from a bullet at Fort Erie in 1814, when fighting in the American ranks against his own country; but he was not a printer, and he was obliged to engage a craftsman from New York, probably the man Cheetham whose name is vaguely mentioned in the despatches of that date. If credence may be given to statements of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, Judge Thorpe had first endeavoured to secure for himself the services of the Province's official printer, in return for a promise on his own part to safeguard the future of the latter. John Cameron, however, resisted this attack on his allegiance, if it was ever really made, for he remained in office as King's Printer until his retirement in 1815, only a few months before his death. Amongst a number of important works which stand to his credit we will mention here only the Revised Statutes of Upper Canada, printed in 1811.

Meanwhile, the Province was steadily growing. In the numerous villages which had sprung up on all sides in the various districts, and which rapidly developed into towns, there were populations, restless as well as industrious, who were just as anxious as the citizens of York to find some means, either through a newspaper or in pamphlets, of airing their opinions, and still more of expressing their feelings. Thus it followed that the art of printing soon spread outside the narrow limits

within which it had been so long confined.

After Niagara and York, the first two cities to mother the printing art in the Province of Ontario, Kingston was next to enter the field in 1810; this she owed to the initiative of a young Vermontese, M. Stephen Miles, who became a Methodist pastor, after a long career as printer, and died at an exceedingly advanced age. About 1807 Miles had followed Nahum Mower to Montreal, for it was in Mower's workshop at Windsor that he had started his apprenticeship, after which he decided to set up at Kingston. Bringing with him equipment supplied to him by his Montreal patron, he arrived in Kingston on September 13th, 1810, and on the 25th of the same month he produced the first number of the Kingston Gazette. He was not yet of age, however, and was therefore obliged at first to carry on his business under the name of Mower & Kendall, Mower being his backer and Kendall his journeyman. For a time he left his newspaper in the hands of a body of townsmen, but towards the end of 1811 he took up the direction again and carried it until he sold his interest to Messrs. Pringle and Macaulay, in 1819. As an example of Miles' enterprising spirit, we may mention that in 1816 he set himself to organise a proper transportation service, which was the equivalent at that date of a "news train," in order to facilitate the rapid distribution of his newspaper throughout the district.

Niagara, for its part, after a period of

CATALOGUE

OF

BOOKS

IN THE

LIBRARY

OF THE

LEGISLATURE

OF

Upper-Canada.

PURCHASED
IN 1816.

Printed by R. C. Horne,
Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

1817.

Cover Page of a Catalogue of Books printed in 1817 by R. C. Horne, who succeeded John Cameron as King's Printer.

inactivity that lasted from 1802 to 1807, became once again a fertile soil in which printing flourished. After his Canadian Freeman, Joseph Willcocks produced there the Telegraph, which ran for some months in 1812, and in the same year James Durand launched another newspaper which he called The Niagara Bee. In 1817, indeed, Niagara had actually two periodicals appearing at the same time, the Spectator, which perished almost immediately at the hands of Bartemas Ferguson, who published a virulent article by Robert Gourlay, the "Stormy Petrel" of Upper Canada; and the Gleaner, of Andrew Heron, which carried on until 1834.

From this time onwards newspapers began to spring up on all sides, and there were other printing-shops which, disappearing and re-appearing, gradually carried the art of printing along the road to almost complete development. It would take too long to enumerate even the printers who, between the years 1815 and 1835, helped, each in his turn, to extend the influence of the printing press throughout

Upper Canada.

Toronto naturally retained the leadership, with such men as R. C. Horne, who succeeded John Cameron in 1817 as King's Printer and who continued, in spite of many vicissitudes, to publish the *Upper Canada Gazette*; Chas. F. Fothergill, who was also King's Printer until 1827, and who produced, in 1825, the first volume of verse printed in Upper Canada: *The*

Wonders of the West or A Day at the Falls of Niagara; Francis Collins, printer of the Canadian Freeman, who died of cholera not long after his release from prison, where he had been incarcerated by the autocracy in power at the moment, and of whom it is stated that he himself composed his editorials from memory, without the assistance of a single copy; William Lyon Mackenzie, who had started publication at Queenstown, in 1824, of his famous Colonial Advocate, before transferring it almost immediately to Toronto; and finally Robert Stanton, who was the last to hold office as King's Printer before the Union, and whose name appears on so large a number of publications, official and otherwise.

At Kingston we find, about 1819, Hugh C. Thomson, Stanton's brother-in-law, who printed the *Upper Canada Gazette* there, and who had the honour of producing, in 1824, the first Canadian novel, *St. Ursula's Convent*, by

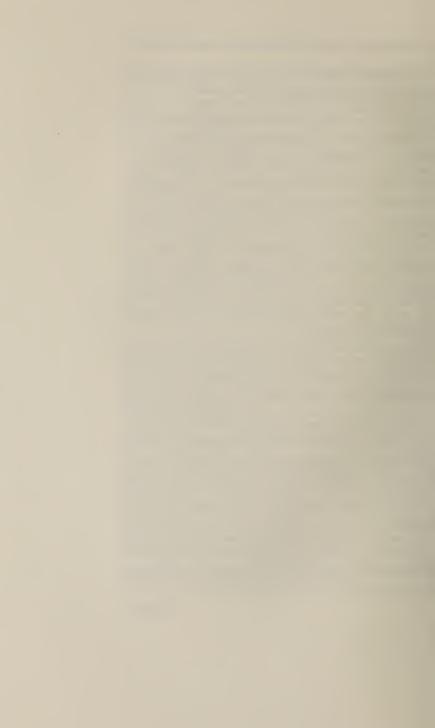
Julia Beckwith.

By 1817 St. Catharines had already its printer, who produced the *Spectator*; and under date of 1818, we find a product of a printing-press in Sandwich, *A Letter to Lord Selkirk*, by Daniel M'Kenzie. In 1821 Chauncey Beach, an itinerant printer who had been previously connected with the Kingston Herald, started in Brockville the *Recorder* which was transferred, the following year, to William Buell and is still in existence. Not long afterwards Hamilton followed suit by according a welcome

to Bartemas Ferguson, of whose misdeeds at Niagara we have already made mention.

It would hardly be fair not to mention also, amongst those who assisted in laying so firmly the foundations of printing in Ontario, the names of Thomas Dalton, W. J. Coates, J. Reynolds, and George P. Bull, of Toronto; W. B. Peters and Samuel Heron, of Niagara; James Macfarlane and Thomas Bentley, of Kingston; G. H. Hackerstaff, of Dundas; Hiram Leavenworth, of St. Catharines; James Cowan, of Sandwich; and W. Wyman, of Cornwall; all of whom carried on their noble art, with more or less brilliancy, before 1835. The list, although incomplete, is already too long, and the exigencies of space force us to omit further names.

This wealth of printers proves that in 1835, and even in 1830, the art of printing in Ontario had already emerged from the stage of infancy. Born thirty years later than its elder sister in Lower Canada, Ontario printing had doubled its rate of progress in order to overtake its senior, and thanks to the enterprising spirit and tenacity of purpose which so happily characterise the Anglo-Saxon race, it had attained its objective with amazing rapidity. It may be said that, about 1835 or 1840, the sap was throbbing in every vein, and that the first shoots were already pushing forth which were destined to produce the marvellous harvest which we of to-day are privileged to witness.



CHAPTER SIX

The invention of printing is the greatest event of history Under the form of printing, thought is more imperishable than ever; it is volatile, intangible, indestructible; it mingles with the very air. In the reign of architecture it became a mountain, and took forceful possession of an era, of a country. Now it is transformed into a flock of birds, scattering to the four winds and filling the whole air and space.

Victor Hugo: Notre-Dame de Paris, Book V, Ch. II.



CHAPTER SIX

The Introduction of the Press into the Western Provinces



THE period at which we left the printing art firmly established in the Maritime Provinces, in Lower and in Upper Canada, leaving it with the knowledge that its future in each of these districts was

definitely assured, that is to say, about 1830 or 1840, there still remained more than threequarters of our vast country, between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean, which was inhabited only by buffaloes and by Indian hordes, and where civilization had penetrated only with an occasional missionary or with a handful of hardy trappers in search of furs. No one had yet foreseen the developments which were to take place one day in those territories which remained for so long unexplored; developments all the more stupendous because their beginnings are of such recent date. We see to-day flourishing, progressive cities of 100,000, of 200,000 and even of 400,000 inhabitants, where sixty years ago, or fifty or

even forty years ago, the vast plain was practically a wilderness with at most a few wretched huts, and a whole generation still lives which can testify to this of its own knowledge. Thus there would seem to be good reasons for believing that printing, which ordinarily follows in the wake of civilization, and might almost be said never to precede it, had started its conquest of Western Canada at a very recent date, were it not that History has shown us that the contrary is the case, and that it is of relatively early origin. Already in 1841, almost thirty years before the establishment of the first regular Government of the Territories, a printing press, albeit a very modest one, was actually in operation on the remote prairies; and if we consider the circumstances as a whole, and especially the situation at the time of its initiation, it will be admitted that there are few regions where the printing art enjoyed a more precocious infancy.

It is to Religion that printing owes its first introduction into the Canadian West, as was also the case in Mexico in 1540, and in New England in 1639. Neither the partners of the Hudson's Bay Company nor the simple "coureurs des bois" felt any yearning to exchange opinions with the Crees or the Blackfeet; on the contrary, all they desired was to maintain these savages in their primitive state in order that they might the more easily be despoiled of their rich pelts. Only the missionaries came out with the sole idea of enlightening

these poor peoples and guiding them out of the darkness of utter ignorance in which they were shrouded. From the start their thoughts turned to printing as one of the most practical media for the propagation of the Gospel, through the indefinite multiplication of the printed word. The pioneer in this work appears to have been a Catholic missionary, the Abbé Georges-Antoine Belcourt; he endeavoured to translate the dream into fact, but his resources were not so great as his spirit was enterprising, and he had the sorrow of seeing his plans rendered abortive. That this was the case is indicated in a letter written by Monseigneur Provencher, the first bishop of Red River, on September 4th, 1834, in which we read: "M. Belcourt, who has opened a school for the instruction of the little savages, has undertaken himself to write books for them. Last year he asked for a little printing-press, and was informed that this would cost 50 louis and would weigh 1,000 pounds. He has asked for one to cost about ten louis, which equally will be refused; it would still constitute too heavy a burden.'

Although it is to a Catholic missionary that the honour must be attributed of having been the first to try and introduce printing into Western Canada, the glory of having actually effected this must be given to a Methodist pastor. It was accomplished seven or eight years after Monsieur Belcourt's efforts had failed. We refer to James Evans, who has made for

himself a place in the annals of missionary work that will be forever memorable through his invention of the spelling-book for the Crees; and the story of whose life of admirable devotion has been written successively by the Rev.

John McLean and by Dr. Lorne Pierce.

Throughout the entire history of the printing art, we know of nothing that surpasses the ingenuity and the perseverance of James Evans, this courageous pioneer. When, after spending a year or two at Norway House, he completed the famous spelling-book, which was afterwards utilized by the apostles of all denominations in their work of evangelizing the Crees, it only remained for him to put it into service by procuring a printing-press and the proper type. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, for the reasons already indicated, was not equally enthusiastic for the introduction of printing, and having practically a monopoly of transportation into the West, was able to block Evans' efforts, as those of M. Belcourt had been blocked in 1834, on the score of excessive weight of the requisite material. The Methodist missionary, however, refused to let himself be stopped by any obstacle. He first set to work to cut up strips of birch bark into small leaves, and using soot from the chimneys as ink, he printed on these leaves his first hymns and his first verses of the Bible. Still unsatisfied, he wished to do something better. After laboriously cutting out moulds in blocks of wood with a rude knife, he pulled out the sheets

of lead which formed the lining of old tea boxes that he managed to collect, and having melted them down, he succeeded in moulding the lead into characters. He constructed a rude hand press and, still using ink made of soot, he succeeded in printing upon birch-bark his first book. Thus it was that printing was begun in the North-West in the year of grace 1841.

A little later, James Evans obtained permission to send to England for a little press which facilitated his work to some extent, and he carried on his labours for a number of years, assisted by some Indians of whom he had made

more or less expert typographers.

The Library of Victoria College, at Toronto, is the proud possessor to-day of James Evans' press and also of the first type that he manufactured with the lead from the tea-boxes and some musket balls, together with a specimen of the first little book that he produced, bearing the imprint: "Norway House, 1841."

This, however, could still be called only private printing. When James Evans finally obtained from the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company the press and type for which he asked so earnestly, it was only upon the express condition that both press and type should be used exclusively for the needs of the mission. It was not until nearly twenty years later that printing was addressed to the community in general, and in consequence developed a public character within the limits of the Territories.

This goal was very nearly reached in 1850,

when the Council of the District of Assiniboia contemplated providing itself with a press and type for use in its own work. Adam Thom, previously the impetuous editor of the Herald of Montreal, and now a member of the Assiniboia Council, was appointed to convey its request to the Hudson's Bay Company, of which he and his colleagues were in truth little more than vassals. His letter, which M. E. H. Oliver has reproduced in his Pioneer Legislation of the North-West, breathes the most complete confidence in the success of the proposal. It enumerates exactly the various items, paper, ink, and type, which the applicants required; and amongst other details specifies a set of cedillas and accents as essential, all documents having to be printed in French as well as in English. Adam Thom and his friends erred, however, in relying upon the Hudson's Bay Company, which had still the same reasons for opposing the introduction of printing and was not anxious to provide means for the expression of opinions in its domain. After waiting for four months they received a reply on March 23rd, 1851, from W. G. Smith, the Assistant Secretary of the Company, which, although it seemed but to procrastinate, actually disposed of the question finally.

Whilst the colony of Assiniboia was thus dallying, she found herself outstripped by a more remote colony which had already been established for some time on the western coast of Canada, and which, towards the middle of

the last century, had commenced to forge ahead rapidly. Thus it was actually on the island of Vancouver that the first public printing press in that immense country, which stretches from the Great Lakes right to the Pacific Ocean, was inaugurated, in the year 1858. It is true that only eighteen months passed before Assiniboia in its turn entered the lists with the establishment of The Nor'-Wester, but we believe it may obviate almost certain confusion if we at once give to British Columbia the advantage of its priority and relate the numerous vicissitudes of its first printing shop before taking up the story of other efforts which may have been contemporary, but which were enacted on another stage.

It should first be noted that printing in British Columbia was entirely French in origin. The first press was brought to that country from France by a French-Canadian bishop, in order to produce there a newspaper in the French language under the direction of a Parisian editor. It is also worthy of note that in this same Province, where there are published to-day newspapers in ten different languages—even in Chinook—there has not been a newspaper published in the French tongue for a number of years.

It is generally agreed that it was in 1856 that Monseigneur Modeste Demers, the Catholic Bishop of Vancouver Island, received from the



Po4 PA 1841

Specimen page of the famous spelling book for the Crees, produced by James Evans, showing the imprint as "Norway House, 1841."

This was the first book printed in Western Canada.

Society for the Propagation of the Faith a gift that had long been desired, in the form of a small printing press and a certain amount of type. Although it has not been possible to trace any work produced on this press prior to 1858, it is highly improbable that the missionary bishop would have left it completely idle for two years after having so eagerly awaited the arrival of this equipment. Douglas C. McMurtrie, in a work which he has recently published under the heading"The First Printing in British Columbia," recognizes that Mgr Demers' press was the first to reach the colony, and himself fixes the date of its arrival as the year 1856, but he is none the less of the opinion that printing actually began in British Columbia only with the first number of the Victoria Gazette, published on June 25, 1858. This, however, could not have been the case if credence may be given to the especially authoritative evidence of the Hon. David William Higgins, who embarked on his long career as a journalist at Victoria in 1858, that is to say, at the time of the happenings with which we are now dealing. In his Reminiscences of the Victoria Press, published by the Colonist a little more than forty years ago, Higgins categorically places at the head of British Columbian printing the little French sheet produced under the patronage of the Catholic Bishop of Vancouver. The only way to settle this dispute would be to compare the first proofs of the two publications in question, with their respective

dates; but unfortunately up to the present time we have been unable to learn if both have

been equally preserved.

One thing we know, however. Mgr Demers' news-sheet was entitled "Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie, journal politique et littéraire, organe des populations françaises dans les possessions anglaises." The Editor-printer was Paul de Garro, a French count, who was exiled from France immediately after the coup d'état of December 2nd, 1851, and finally landed on Vancouver Island after having travelled through California. The Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie enjoyed but a brief existence, however, either because the undertaking, modest as it was, was yet beyond the resources of its originator, or because the noble editor was unable to retain the confidence of the bishop. Whatever the reason, publication ceased after only a few numbers had appeared. The story runs that Count de Garro, who, after his exit from the newspaper field, had worked for some time as a waiter in a Victoria restaurant, met with a tragic fate in 1861, when he was the victim of a boiler explosion on board an old steamer which was carrying him, together with other gold-seekers, towards the mines of Caribou.

Another paper appeared almost simultaneously with M. de Garro's *Courrier*, if indeed it did not actually precede it, and this time it was a paper more worthy of the name and much more ambitious in its scope, the *Victoria*

Gazette. From the start this was practically a daily newspaper, as it was issued five times a week. The founders were two enterprising journalists who had already made their first attempt in San Francisco, H. C. Williston and Columbus Bartlett. Two other immigrants from California were the first printers, Abel

Whilton and James W. Towne.

The Victoria Gazette was not long left without a competitor. Reports of the discovery of gold mines in British Columbia had by this time begun to attract great crowds of immigrants, and already in 1858 the population, more or less floating, of the city of Victoria might be estimated at about 15,000. It was a restless, seething population, for which a newspaper provided a very welcome means of expression. Thus it was that the Victoria Gazette had scarcely been launched when the Vancouver Island's Gazette was produced, in July, 1858, and was in its turn closely followed, in December, by the British Colonist, the fourth newspaper produced by the printing art in British Columbia within the first six months of its existence there.

The only one of these first newspapers that has survived is the *British Colonist*. This is the paper that is still published in Victoria under the briefer title of *Colonist*. It was founded by a Nova Scotian who played a role of considerable importance not only in the journalistic field but also in the political life of British Columbia, Amor de Cosmos, who, during a

sojourn in San Francisco, changed his real name of William Smith by Act of Parliament into this pseudonym, which he naïvely believed signified "Lover of the Universe." By the middle of 1859 the British Colonist had already witnessed the failure of its two first rivals, the Vancouver Island's Gazette, which lasted but a few months, and the Victoria Gazette, which lived for exactly one year. Certain other journals sprang up during the same year, 1859, but their existence was at best precarious. Amongst them we may mention the Weekly Victoria Gazette, which, as the result of legal proceedings brought against the proprietors by the original owners of the Victoria Gazette, on the ground of usurpation of title, enjoyed the rather unusual distinction of appearing in at least three numbers without any title.

Even the *Colonist* had some difficult storms to weather. If credence may be given to Duncan Georges Forbes Macdonald, (1) it was very nearly strangled in its cradle beneath the weight of a proclamation by which the Governor, Sir James Douglas, dissatisfied with Amor de Cosmos by reason of his independence, armed himself against the latter with certain ancient statutes which had long fallen into disuse and drew up claims which were equivalent to complete extinction. Macdonald states that there was a regular rising of all the colonists, who, by way of protest, subscribed on the spot

⁽¹⁾ British Columbia, London, 1862, p. 278.

the guarantee of £800 which had been stipulated by the governor, and thus ensured con-

tinuance of the threatened newspaper.

The Colonist, indeed, continued to prosper. It has been claimed that the ancient French printing press of Mgr Demers was used at first in its production; but in 1862 this was replaced by a cylinder press, the first that ever functioned on the coast of British Columbia.

In the year 1866 the *Colonist* was sold by its proprietors to the *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, which D. W. Higgins had founded four years previously, but it continued to appear under its own name, which it actually imposed upon the journal that had just absorbed it, and which persists right up to the present day.

Printing in British Columbia developed with great rapidity from the time of its inception, and we have already almost reached the time when it was solidly established, so that we need mention only two more newspapers, the *British Columbian* and the famous *Caribou Sentinel*.

The British Columbian was established in 1861 at New Westminster by John Robson, the future prime minister, and was the pioneer of printing upon the mainland; its predecessor, Leonard McClure's New Westminster Times, which did not long survive, having commenced publication on the island of Vancouver, although it was intended for circulation amongst the population of the interior, as the name indicates.

The Caribou Sentinel was noteworthy for

two reasons, one the surroundings in which it was produced, the mountains of the new mining district of Caribou overflowing at that time with a crowd of gold-seekers and soon to return to its former deserted state; the other, the extraordinarily high subscription demanded, \$52.00 a year or a dollar for a single number. This paper was founded in 1865 by George Wallace, who turned it over in the following year to C. W. Allan, in order to take up the profession of a "showman," and who, having first amassed and then lost a considerable fortune in travelling over the world with a Japanese troupe, finally died in Montreal in 1888, where he was serving as correspondent of the Daily Mail of Toronto. One of C. W. Allan's first actions on resuming publication of the Sentinel, after a brief suspension, was to cut in half the somewhat inflated price, and by this and other means he was enabled to continue production of the paper up to 1872.

Once more Mgr Demers' good old press was brought into service to print the Caribou Sentinel. Having been replaced in 1862 in the work of the British Colonist by a more modern cylinder press, it still retained sufficient vitality for another campaign, along secular lines, and thus for ten more years it helped to brighten the Sundays of the miners in Caribou. It entered upon the last stage of its career in the year 1880 at Emory, on the lower Fraser, in the workshop of the Island Sentinel, which had just been started by M. Hagan, an Irish Catholic;

and this was finally terminated about 1912 at Kamloops, where that publication had been transferred shortly after its inception. In the same year, 1912, M. Wade, the proprietor of the Sentinel, presented the ancient and venerable press to the nuns of Saint Anne at Kamloops. It is to-day carefully preserved in the convent belonging to the same Order at Victoria, a noble relic of the past, and is regarded with the same religious respect as surrounds the no less venerable press of James Evans, in

Victoria College, Toronto.

We have not yet spoken of any other products of printing than newspapers, because for a long time in British Columbia, although the art had already begun to thrive and spread, newspapers enjoyed practically a monopoly of the presses. Amidst this turbulent population, where order was only enforced by degrees, there was certainly place for political activity, and for plenty of such activity; but it was a long time before the time was ripe for the introduction of the arts, the sciences and for literature, or even, to a certain extent, for religion. Politicians had little need of books or pamphlets, for the newspapers adequately served their purposes, and literature made few demands in its own service, for as yet it scarcely existed in this Province. It must not be imagined, however, that there were no books, and still more, no pamphlets, produced in the early days of printing in British Columbia. From the beginning the requirements of the

THE

Fraser Mines Viudicated,

OR

THE HISTORY OF FOUR MONTHS.

BY

ALFRED WADDINGTON.

PRICE. FIFTY CENTS

"Scribitur ad parrangum con ad probandum."

QUINCTILIAN.

VICTORIA:

PRINTED BY P. DE CARRO, WHARF STREET.

1858.

The cover page of a 46-page book printed by Count de Garro in 1858, the second book to be printed on Vancouver Island.

administrative and judicial authorities, the colonizing propaganda and the mining reports demanded certain publications in the form of books, for which collectors pay large sums to-day in spite of the long vanished interest of their contents and their worn appearance, and which antiquarians on the Pacific Coast regard as incunabula no less precious and no less venerable than those of the remote 15th century. The first of these in chronological order is a simple law book prepared by the Chief Justice Cameron and published, at the end of 1858, as a quarto book of 86 pages entitled: Rules of practice of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice, Vancouver's Island. The second followed only a few days later, but the interval was just long enough to oblige the author to change, in a lastminute note, a statement in his preface proclaiming his book to be the first printed on Vancouver Island. It was a pamphlet of 46 pages by Alfred Waddington, entitled The Fraser Mines Vindicated or The History of Four Months, on the cover of which we read to-day with some amusement that the original publisher's price was fifty cents; and appears to have been the only work, outside his newspaper, which was produced by the noble Count whom we have already mentioned as the pioneer of printing in British Columbia. It bears indeed the following imprint: "Victoria, Printed by Paul de Garro, Wharf Street, 1858." M. de Garro was able thus to proclaim himself a printer, Mr. D. C. McMurtrie must be mistaken when he states, in his otherwise excellent work on the first printing in British Columbia, that he believed the *Courrier de la* Nouvelle-Calédonie to have been printed by Frederick Marriott.

It would certainly be idle to enumerate here the various publications which followed closely upon each other during the following years, and which were issued either by the Government Printing Office or from the workshop of the Colonist. These included the governor's proclamations, various guides for the use of immigrants, and even the first Directory of British Columbia, which was produced in 1863. However, it may be stated that the printing art had been born upon the Pacific coast and was full of vitality; we may leave it there with its future assured, and return to the great district comprising the western part of middle Canada which we have for a short time abandoned.

Even after the death of James Evans in 1846 his press continued to function for a number of years in the same theatre, and even in the year 1857 we find Gospels in the Cree tongue which were printed on the press of the Rossville Mission at Norway House, but still this was printing executed in accordance with the official stipulation that it be for religious purposes only, and it was not until the year 1859 that public opinion found means of expression in the Canadian West.

A rumour had begun to circulate that the district of Assiniboia would shortly be elevated to the rank of a Crown Colony, and more than one printer in Ontario, and even some Americans, relying upon a rapid development of the country under the new regime, began to dream of proceeding thither to try their fortune. The first to undertake the difficult journey was a Detroit journalist; but having committed the error of following the Lake Superior route, he could not get any further than the Sault Ste. Marie, where his heavy equipment had to be left behind, and he was compelled to retrace his steps, completely discouraged. About the middle of the year 1859 two Ontario journalists, William Buckingham and William Coldwell, resolved in their turn to make the attempt, but profiting by the experience of their American confrère, they were careful to select another route.

In order to reduce to the minimum the expenses of transportation, they conceived the idea of purchasing the larger part of their necessary equipment in the West to which they were going, at the nearest possible point to their destination, and this point they found would be Saint Paul, in the state of Minnesota. It was therefore from this point that they set forth on September 28th, 1859, after lengthy preparations, and having provided themselves at the same time with type, galleys, ink and paper, and with an ancient, out-of-date hand press on which the *Saint Paul Pioneer* had been

printed in the year 1849. In the first numbers of The Nor'-Wester, which they produced on their arrival, and which lie before us as we write, Messrs. Buckingham and Coldwell have themselves related the various incidents of their epic journey. We have already noted, in an earlier chapter, the painful experiences of Fleury Mesplet in 1775 when he undertook to transport his printing equipment from Philadelphia to Montreal by way of Albany and Lake Champlain, but infinitely more difficult was the voyage accomplished three-quarters of a century later by our two Ontario journalists between Saint Paul and Fort Garry. To undertake such a journey across the Canadian West, a territory as vast as the ocean and as dangerous, at a period when there were as yet neither railways nor even proper roads, assuredly must have required the aes triplex with which Horace credited the mariners of old.

On the appointed day, Buckingham and Coldwell started out from Saint Paul, accompanied by a number of others who wished to obtain the benefit of their company, and taking with them three waggons loaded with food and baggage, each of which was drawn by a single ox as refractory as it was slow. On more than one occasion they were compelled to stop and retrieve on the edge of a swamp their type and their various packages of all kinds which had been scattered around by too abrupt a swerve of their stubborn oxen. Every night, after a painful advance of fifteen or twenty

miles across difficult ground, after fording treacherous rivers, after struggling up steep hills, they were obliged to search for a suitable camping-ground and there spend the night. For thirty-three days they journeyed, meeting on their way nothing but bands of wolves, or of Indians who were scarcely more agreeable to encounter. Finally, on November 1st, 1859, they reached Fort Garry, the goal of their

long journey.

The worst difficulties were still to come, however. Buckingham and Coldwell had scarcely arrived in this new country, where civilization had as yet hardly penetrated, before they found themselves wondering whether they had not over-rated their own powers. Through all the region which we know to-day as Manitoba, and beyond its limits, the population numbered scarcely 8,000 to 10,000 whites, the majority of whom were half-breeds with little inclination towards any kind of literature, and even under the walls of Fort Garry there were only about fifty huts or workshops sheltering in all two or three hundred persons. Thus the prospects of success were not very brilliant. At the beginning of November, 1859, the two printers had still only one regular subscription assured for their future newspaper, and that was promised by an old Indian chief whom they had met living with his six wives on the frontier of Minnesota. However, they refused to let themselves be discouraged and immediately set to work. Installing themselves in an old wooden workshop close to the walls of the fort, they mounted their press, sorted their type, collected their material, and on December 29th, 1859, after having to thaw out their paper which an excessively cold night had transformed into a block of solid ice, they finally produced the first number of the first newspaper in the North-West of Canada, *The Nor'-Wester*.

Despite the apathy and the indifference of the greater part of the population, who prided themselves on learning all the local news without any extraneous assistance, and who cared little for anyone outside their own circle, the new journal gained ground day by day and finally secured a firm foothold. Even the Hudson's Bay Company, although it had good reasons for dreading the inauguration within its territories of a public organ which might exercise a surveillance as tiresome as it might be harmful, subscribed for a copy for each of the chain of posts that extended across the vast expanse of the North-West, with the result that The Nor'-Wester had at one time a circulation which was not large, it is true, but was the widest that could be achieved, since it extended from the shores of the Mackenzie right to the Atlantic coast. Amongst its subscribers were even some in the most distant posts whom the paper could only reach a year after date of publication. It was also the paper that was produced at the most northerly point of America, so that William Lyon Mackenzie,

who started at Queenstown his career as a printer, wrote as follows in this regard: "I was once the most Western editor, bookseller and printer in British America, but *The Nor*'-

Wester is a thousand miles beyond me."

The Nor'-Wester was remarkably well written for the period, and from the documentary point of view it is still one of the most valuable sources of information on the history of the West. Moreover, it enjoyed the services of distinguished correspondents, amongst whom it is sufficient to mention Thomas D'Arcy McGee, whose name was not attached to his writings however. It was especially popular with the people because of its independent attitude, and when the Council of Assiniboia, in spite of the persistence of Mgr Taché, refused permission for the paper, in 1860, to report its proceedings, there was a general outburst of indignation around Fort Garry, and the Hudson's Bay Company promptly realised that its own star was paling and that henceforth it must reckon with a new and formidable power.

Meanwhile there had been a change of government in England, and one of the consequences of this was that the proposal to make Assiniboia a Crown Colony was indefinitely postponed. Buckingham decided that he would not wait any longer and sold his share of the interest in the paper to James Ross, who in his turn transferred this shortly after to Dr. Schultz, the future Governor of Manitoba. In 1865 The Nor'-Wester was almost completely

The Nor-Wester.

Vos. L.-No. 2.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, SATURDAY JANUARY 98, 186

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RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, SATURDAY JANUARY 28, 18

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A fine specimen of *The Nor'-Wester*, printed by Buckingham and Coldwell, and the first newspaper to be published in the North-West of Canada.

wiped out in a disastrous fire, but thanks to co-operation of a somewhat unexpected nature, such as that of the Anglican bishop of Rupert's Land, it finally rose again from the ashes. William Coldwell in his turn withdrew from the paper after he had assisted in placing it once more upon its feet. Even up to the year 1870, under the vigorous management of Dr. Schultz and later under that of Rollin P. Meade and Dr. Bown, The Nor'-Wester continued to be "a thorn in the side of the Hudson's Bay Company". In spite of the fact that it was able to resist direct opposition, however, and still more the subterranean machinations of the powerful company, it was fated to perish beneath the attacks of that same demagogy which it had encouraged. It was simply suppressed in January, 1870, by Louis Riel, the head of the new provisional government, who had no more reason for approving of this born adversary of all governments than had the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company.

About the same time, whilst the provisional government was setting up for itself a new organ, The New Nation, William Coldwell, one of the fathers of The Nor'-Wester, had returned to Fort Garry after an absence of some years, and set to work to produce another newspaper, The Red River Pioneer. He had already begun printing a proclamation of the Hon. Wm. McDougall, the administrator recently nominated by the Canadian Government, when Louis Riel, learning of his plans, burst into the

workshop and with the assistance of pistols and muskets, succeeded in inducing the printers to fill the remainder of the paper with articles that favoured the rebellious element. The result was that the number issued on January 7th, 1870, bore on its front page the title *The Pioneer* with a number of loyal articles, and upon the last page the heading *The New Nation* and revolutionary writings.

The Red River Pioneer did not continue its career, whilst The New Nation, which was edited first by an American, H. M. Robinson, and then by Thomas Spence, brought its own brief and stormy existence to an abrupt conclusion in October, 1870, with the flight of Riel and the end of the Rising of the Half-Breeds.

With the creation of the province of Manitoba, a new era dawned with an horizon that grew brighter and brighter, and the progress of the journalistic art, that is to say, of printing, gained proportionately. Passing over without comment the News Letter, an ephemeral little journal which appeared, at the close of 1870, as the last echo of the expiring opposition, and the Liberal of Stewart Mulvey, which lasted but two years, several periodicals came into being about the same time which occupied an important place in the ensuing history of Manitoba.

First of all came William Coldwell who, undaunted by the lack of success of his *Pioneer*, formed an association with Robert Cunningham and out of the debris of *The New Nation*

founded, towards the end of 1870, the *Manito-ban*. This journal, after a short but honourable career, was combined, in 1874, with the *Standard*, under the direction of Molyneux St. John.

In 1871 Joseph Royal established in his turn a paper called the *Metis*, in Saint Boniface; this, having shortly afterwards changed its name to that of *Manitoba*, was during many years the principal organ of the French popu-

lation of the North-West.

In 1872 we find, in connection with the starting of the Manitoba Free Press, the name of William Fisher Luxton, one of the stars that have shone most brightly in the history of newspaper work in the West. Prior to the inception of the paper, Luxton had been the first lay teacher in Winnipeg. A writer "sans peur et sans reproche," he devoted himself to his task for more than twenty years, but at last, disheartened by the numerous disasters which he brought upon himself through his independence and his passion for justice, he gave up the struggle and emigrated to Saint Paul, where he died towards the end of the last century. Winnipeg, however, does not forget the eminent services which Luxton rendered, and by way of compensation for the injustice with which he was treated, a street and one of the principal schools in that city are named in memory of him.

When we have noted the establishment in 1874 of another *Nor'-Wester*, under the control of Alexander Begg, which, after having

shown itself a tough opponent of the Free Press was ultimately merged in the Winnipeg Telegram; and, in 1878 the founding of the Telegraph of Nursey, which supported the interests of the Macdonald administration and the existence of which was more lively than prosperous; we have already reached the period when Manitoba printing had emerged from its swaddling clothes. From this time on, the number of newspapers in Winnipeg has been steadily increasing and with them the printingshops which supplied nourishment in a hundred different directions for the rapidly-growing population. In a word, the development of the West had begun, and already some inklings of its future grandeur might be discerned. Little by little, beyond Fort Garry, which was now Winnipeg, villages and then towns sprang up in which printing was successively implanted.

At Battleford, then the capital of the North-West Territories, Patrick Gammie Laurie, the former proprietor of the News Letter of 1871, after a journey of seventy-two days over a 600 mile route without a single bridge or a solitary ferry, established in 1878 the first printing press that was in regular operation between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains. The Saskatchewan Herald, born in humble circumstances in a wretched hut, is still in existence to-day, more than half a century later, and up to two years ago was still in the hands of

the courageous founder's son.

Shortly afterwards it was the turn of Edmonton, the future capital of Alberta, to take up the printing art with the inception of the Bulletin of Frank Oliver. The Hon. Frank Oliver later related the story of the manner in which a pure chance induced him to embark on the precarious undertaking. Whilst still a young man, he was at Winnipeg looking for some means of making his way, when a Philadelphia newspaper happened to come into his hands which announced the sale of a hand press at a reduced price. He seized the opportunity; gave instructions to have the rudimentary machine sent to him; and then, with a confidence in the future which was in truth prophetic, he turned his eyes towards the most distant point which he could hope to reach and set out for Edmonton. On December 6th, 1880, he was in a position to produce the first number of his newspaper. At first the Edmonton Bulletin was but a sheet in small type, five inches by seven, rather roughly printed, but it has since made for itself a glorious path, and when, not long ago, its founder decided to retire and enjoy the rest which has been so well earned after forty-three years' work, his paper was already appearing in twelve, and sometimes even in twenty pages, and had become one of the most powerful and influential organs of public opinion in Western Canada.

After the founding, in 1882, of the *Times* by J. D. Maveety and Thomas Spink at Prince Albert, and of the *Gazette*, which was started

at Fort Macleod in that year by two former members of the Mounted Police, E. T. Saunders and C. E. D. Wood, we find two other newspapers established almost simultaneously in 1883, one at Calgary and the other at Regina; journals which to-day occupy an eminent position in the press of Western Canada. We refer to the *Calgary Herald* which, beginning forty-seven years ago in a canvas tent, is to-day lodged in a luxurious ten-story edifice of marble and stone; and to the *Regina Leader*, in connection with which the name will be forever remembered of Nicholas Flood Davin, its founder and one of the most brilliant journalists ever known in any part of Canada.

We should also like to say something about the establishment in this same year, 1883, of the Sun at Brandon and the Liberal at Portagela-Prairie, of the Progress at Qu'Appelle in 1885, and the News at Lethbridge in 1886; but this would involve re-writing all the geography of an immense country and would obviously exceed the limits of the present publication. Henceforth, it is not possible to follow step by step the growth of the printing art which has proceeded at the same rapid, almost rushing speed as has the development of the West

itself.

Before concluding, however, we would not omit mention of another printing undertaking which lies somewhat outside the regular track which we have just covered, but which, by its relative antiquity as well as by its picturesque aspect, has none the less a claim on our interest.

Although the circumstances are set down in the missionary annals, it is not generally known that about the year 1877, when the printing art in Western Canada had not as yet begun to stretch beyond Winnipeg, its cradle, a humble religious, the Oblate Father R. P. Grouard, had already managed to transport a complete printing outfit—although certainly a modest one—as far as Deer Lake, and was there quietly printing little books in a number of different dialects for the use of the savages.

During the course of a journey in France which he had taken a short time before, for the sake of his health, the good father had devoted his leisure to learning the printing trade, and to composing prayer-books in the Indian language with type specially manufactured for this purpose in Brussels; his idea being to take back with him on his return both type and press in order that he might make use of these on the very scene of his labours, at Deer Lake and later on the Peace River. Some years afterwards, in 1888, he was transferred from the Peace River district in order to go and preach the Gospel to the even more distant tribes of the extreme north. Packing up the equipment of his Indian printing-shop he attached it to his sledge, and driving his Eskimo dogs from camping-place to camping-place, from portage to portage, across a great desert intersected with lakes and rivers, he towed them stoically right to Lake Athabaska; and there, in the

almost frozen lands, far beyond the confines of civilization, he took up once more, in the sight only of his Creator, his noble and heroic work

as a missionary printer.

Since that time it is, of course, true that printing has been carried to even greater distances, even to the Land of the Midnight Sun, with the onrush of gold-seekers in the Yukon in 1897; but none the less the little printing press of Lake Athabaska remains still the hardiest pioneer throughout the length and breadth of Canada. We know of no one who has carried so far beyond inhabited lands the benefits of the most benevolent and the most civilizing of all the inventions of the modern world. James Evans made his name justly famous in adventuring to Norway House, three hundred miles north of Winnipeg, to print there his first books; but it should never be forgotten that, only forty years later, the enterprising Catholic missionary succeeded in extending another three hundred miles in the same northerly direction, together with the realm of Christianity, that also of the printing art. Moreover the Lake Athabaska press has another claim to distinction, in that it was operated by episcopal hands, not only those of R. P. Grouard himself, who became Bishop of Ibara and Vicar-Apostolic of Athabaska in 1890, but also those of Mgr Faraud who, during his apostolic journeyings, did not disdain to serve sometimes as an apprentice of his devoted colleague.

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

This last item of news we feel may not be without some interest to printers; for the fraternity, however glorious its story, cannot claim many bishops amongst its members.

With these last pages, in which we have endeavoured to set out briefly the beginnings of printing in Western Canada, though in a manner which, unhappily, is very incomplete, because of the obscurity in which they are still enveloped in spite of their comparatively recent date, our task is concluded. In no case, neither in reference to Quebec and Ontario, nor for the West and the Maritime Provinces, was it our mission to describe the state of perfection to which this marvellous instrument for intellectual and social progress has been brought; nor to award their mead of praise to all those who, by their mastery of its processes, have assisted in developing its full value. It was not the goal attained that required to be described, for that is visible to any onlooker; rather it was the starting-point which it was desired to rescue from shadows that were already distant and in which there was danger that it might be forever lost. This backward glance should serve not only to restore to those valiant workmen of early days—the real artisans who built up the success achieved to-day—the credit which we are always prone to forget; but, if it has not failed in its object, should carry a valuable message of confidence, a cheering promise

The Introduction of Printing into Canada

for the future, especially for the printer, to whom it offers an opportunity to measure the ground that has been covered. If Canadian printing, beginning so humbly, has been able, after a century and a half in the oldest provinces, and even after half a century in the newer ones, to attain the marvellous efficiency that we witness to-day, who can prophecy a boundary to its achievements in the future, if those who to-day control its destiny continue to devote to its service, as to the service of their country, the same energy, the same perseverance, the same ingenuity, and the same professional conscience of which their enterprising predecessors have left so many proofs. It is no exaggeration to claim that the possibilities for the printing art in Canada are practically limitless, and we may rest assured that they will be fully explored. We have a guarantee of this in the hard-won achievements of its glorious past.



Young Men's Section
TORONTO

Young Men's Section
TORONTO





